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# Near East/South Asia Report

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26 FEBRUARY 1987

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# GULF DINAR TO BE NEW UNIFIED MONETARY UNIT

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 27 Jan 87 p 13

[Text]

GOVERNORS of central banks of the AGCC countries, meeting in Abu Dhabi, yesterday agreed on a unified monetary system that would regulate all Gulf currencies by linking them to a single monetary unit.

It is expected that this unit would be called a Gulf dinar. It was also decided that the AGCC countries would not link this unit with the US dollar.

Addressing a Press conference at the end of the two-day meeting at the Abu Dhabi Inter-Continental, Dr Abdullah Quwaiz, AGCC assistant secretary-general, said the final adjustments of evaluating currencies would be made by a panel of experts meeting in Kuwait in the next two weeks.

Dr Quwaiz said that the technical committee of experts would sort out procedures to decide on the parity of individual Gulf currencies with the new monetary unit.

He said basic agreement had also been reached on monitoring investment risks and each country would be adopting procedures to stars data about bank operations.

Unifying of the monetary system would give a definitive boost to the economy of the AGCC states, he said, adding that the recent rise in the price of oil had given a new impetus to Gulf economies. The official said the decline in the value of the dollar had been more than offset by the rise in the price of oil. Thus the Gulf economies had not been affected significantly by the dollar's fall.

Dr Quwaiz declined to be specific,

when asked whether there had been a final decision on linking the Gulf currencies with the dollar, a basket of currencies, or the Special Drawing Rights. However, he denied that the US was putting pressure on the AGCC states to accept the dollar as the link currency.

He said the experts committee would give the final touches to the resolutions decided at the Abu Dhabi meeting before they were sent to the joint AGCC ministerial panel of foreign and finance ministers.

The final decision on the subject of the Gulf monetary unit and the linking of that unit with international currencies and systems would be decided at the next AGCC summit in Riyadh this year.

According to Dr Quwaiz trade between AGCC states had risen considerably since the recent agreement facilitating exports and imports among member states.

On the misleading information in the Western media about the standing of some banks in the AGCC Dr Quwaiz said that a meeting was held recently between representatives of the AGCC banks and the International Bank for Settlements at which the fiscal agencies that had reported the damaging information were issued a warning. The group of ten, that met in Basle in Switzerland with the representative of the AGCC was apprised of the situation and an understanding has been reached, he pointed out. The negative aspects of the

propaganda had been overcome, he said.

He also said the Central Bank governors had discussed in detail the training facilities being provided to bankers in the AGCC countries. They agreed to upgrade training to senior bank officials and to strive to make AGCC banks self-reliant.

The governors, said Dr Quwaiz had agreed that a unified system would be implemented regarding the 'risk coverage data', and each member state will commence its operations accordingly.

Asked to comment on the divulging of "classified information" about clients' financial positions by banks, Dr Quwaiz said that the data monitoring system, once implemented, would regulate information to cut down on risks.

With increased trade among member states and flow of capital from one state to another such monitoring would become an absolute necessity. For instance, if a Saudi investor in the UAE applied for a loan from a local bank then information about his position in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere would be of importance to the local banks.

He said that the evolution of a common monetary system for the AGCC states was part of the economic agreement reached by the heads of the states. The data bank to regulate funds and reduce investment risks was also part of the entire system.

## NEED FOR RELIABLE, SPEEDY ECONOMIC INFORMATION STRESSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 2 Jan 87 p 1

[Editorial by M.A.: "Indispensable Link"]

[Text] Once intended for a close circle of those in the know -- including business and finance circles -- and using a specially fashioned language -- economic information is now reaching an ever wider audience. Readership is expanding and diversifying, for it responds to a real need. Never before to the extent now observed has the economic sector had a direct effect on political practices. A sign of the time, awareness of the fact that there cannot be any true freedom of action at any level whatsoever, if the economic activity of a country is burdened with circumstantial or structural weaknesses, rouses legitimate interest in means of production, their performance and difficulties.

In developing countries, ever broader strata of the population have understood that the process of domination that enabled some countries in the world to become powers at the expense of others, which have remained on the fringes of development, is not fate. It results from the race for wealth and prosperity, which cannot be burdened by scruples and leaves no room for the vanquished.

Throughout the second half of this century, many countries under colonial domination have won their independence. They have rapidly become accustomed to the idea that the race was not over, that, on the contrary, it had doubled in intensity and was resorting to another weapon: economic blackmail. Consequently, those who have been able, in order to preserve their sovereignty, to plunge into the battle for development have staked everything on it. Ensuring a reliable supply of food by organizing farming and making it profitable, promoting an industry oriented toward meeting national needs, producing surpluses and finding markets for exports and resorting to imports the least amount possible in order to save on foreign exchange: These are all actions aimed at consolidating the foundations of independence.

The fact that Algerians now pay close attention to the country's economy stems from this awareness we have mentioned, an awareness made even more acute by a world economic situation whose negative consequences have not spared Algeria and which causes us to consult the barometer of development more frequently than usual. Because of the spread of education, there are now millions of citizens whose needs must be met daily with respect to economic information and it is primarily the journalist who will be called upon to use all his resources to gather the maximum number of elements, frequently in a very short

period of time. It is obvious that his mission as a link between a demanding readership and the economic operators who make up his main source of information presumes the establishment of a kind of privileged cooperation between the latter and himself. Conditions have not always existed making it possible to supply the reader with regular, complete and rapid information on national business. This results from many factors, prominent among which are certain outdated bureaucratic practices.

It is certainly possible -- and, at any rate, eminently desirable -- to lift these obstacles that make harmonious relations difficult between the press and departments of information in the principal sectors of economic activity in the country. Such relations would enable "upper-level personnel and citizens," as President Chadli Bendjedid emphasized at the Fourth National Conference on Development, "to get to know the real economic situation." The chief of state also stressed the "need to give newsmen access to sources of information in order to keep them better informed, seeking greater credibility, for this method, without any doubt, provides solutions to the problems encountered by our economic officials."

At the beginning of this new year, one of our most fervent desires is therefore to see the establishment of easy contact between business executives and the national press that serves the economy, development and the country, contact that should take into consideration the lifting of formal obstacles as well as the requirement of exhaustive, rapid information. The journalist's mission will be accomplished much more easily and will be all the more effective if the elements placed at his disposal have the double purpose of informing the public at large about the country's economic situation daily and establishing a constant link between operators in the different sectors of activity involved in the development process. That is our wish. A minimum of good will on the part of everyone would make it a reality.

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CSO: 4519/59

## MUBARAK VIEWS ARAB TIES, GULF WAR, U.S. DEBTS

NC190916 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0635 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] Cairo, 19 Jan (MENA)--President Husni Mubarak has declared that Arab issues form the basis for all his international talks. Egyptian issues, whether they be economic or political, do not take up much time, he added. He expressed regret that the ICO summit will be convened in Kuwait at a time when Muslims are slaughtering each other. Such atrocities are taking place despite the fact that Islam is a religion of tolerance and calls for unity, peace, and the avoidance of bloodshed. In this regard we affirm to the world that we are indeed the terrorists certain parties have accused us of being.

President Mubarak stated that it is time for Arabs to sit as one family and agree on a strategy and goal. Then each one can work to achieve this goal in his own way without harming the interests of the others. Mubarak made these remarks in an interview with Ahmad al-Jarallah, chief editor of the Kuwaiti AL-SIYASAB newspaper. The interview was published today in both AL-AHRAM and AL-AKHBAR.

Mubarak affirmed that Egypt has never and will never pour oil on fire. Egypt has been and will remain a soothing factor and a mediator to remove differences among the fraternal Arab countries. He asserted that relations between Egypt and the Arabs have recently improved. Most Arab countries have now realized that Egypt's policy throughout the last few years is a firm one and does not bear any evil intent toward any Arab country. They see that Egypt has love for and a genuine desire to cooperate with fraternal countries.

Mubarak said that European countries are interested in Egypt's stability in view of the fact that it is a safety valve for the entire region. Commenting on specific Egyptian-Arab relations, Mubarak noted that relations with Jordan are marked by a mutual understanding of views, including of any differences. We discuss every problem in order to reach a common concept of it, he added. As for our relations with Saudi Arabia, these are not new. They are long-standing and firm ties which have been further strengthened this year.

President Mubarak expressed agreement with Sultan Qabus of Oman on the idea that the Gulf war can only be ended by some miracle. He affirmed that Iraq has not received any offensive weapons from Egypt. Egypt hopes that this war will end, for it only benefits those countries which produce arms, he said.

Mubarak expressed deep regret at Syria's attempt to disrupt the ICO summit. Instead of attacking Egypt, Syria should work to resolve the problem of the Iran-Iraq war, he asserted.

Mubarak criticized the U.S. position with regard to the question of debts. America has not offered Egypt what it should, nor has it reduced the interest on such military debts to 7 percent. He declared that Egypt will never accept any pressure from the IMF which harms its national sovereignty. It will not allow any party to interfere in its domestic affairs.

Mubarak said that the recent government reshuffle was intended to provide a faster economic pace. He praised Egyptian security personnel and affirmed that there had been no security breaches in the country, nor was there a constitutional crisis.

Mubarak emphasized that the need for Cabinet approval to be obtained before Arab citizens could own a housing unit in Egypt had been cancelled in order to open the door for investors returning to the country. He said that he himself continuously follows Egypt's current investment issue.

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CSO: 4500/53

MUBARAK ON ICO, GULF WAR, PALESTINIANS

LD191046 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0815 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Excerpts] Cairo, 19 Jan (KUNA)--President Husni Mubarak today called on all the Islamic countries to attend the fifth Islamic summit scheduled to be held in Kuwait at the end of January "With a good spirit, reason, and realism in order to come out with distinctive results."

In two separate press interviews Mubarak expressed his deep regret at the current fighting among Muslims, particularly in the Iraq-Iran war which has entered its 7th year and at the developments of this war prior to the convening of the impending Islamic conference.

In the two interviews, published in Kuwaiti newspapers AL-ANBA' and AL-SIYASAH today, Mubarak stressed the importance of the Islamic countries standing united in the face of the dangers threatening the Islamic world and the need to find ways to stop the current war between the two neighboring Islamic countries Iraq and Iran.

Mubarak stressed that the failure of an ICO member state to attend the fifth Islamic conference does not necessarily mean the failure of the conference, pointing out that he will personally attend the conference at the head of his country's delegation.

Speaking about his country's relations with the Arab Gulf states, the Egyptian president said that these are based on understanding through open channels of dialogue, affirming that Egypt stands with all the Gulf states and the other Arab countries in upholding right because his country thinks from a realistic Arab premise.

President Mubarak denied that Iraq obtained from Egypt any aircraft or offensive weapons, he expressed the hope that the two sides Iraq and Iran will reach a solution to the conflict between them in a peaceful manner.

Referring to the recent developments in this destructive war, he said: The situation on the front is, at the least, evenly balanced. The question of sending Egyptian forces to Iraq is not a matter for the president to take a decision upon. Rather it is subject to the approval of the Egyptian people through the proper constitutional channels.

Regarding the question of Egyptian prisoners with Iran, Mubarak said that there is not a single individual of the regular Egyptian Armed Forces fighting in Iraq or in any other place outside Egypt, stressing that the prisoners in question are ordinary Egyptian citizens who went to Iraq in search of a livelihood or volunteered to fight on the side of sisterly Iraq.

Egypt, he added, is trying through all legitimate means to retrieve those prisoners from Iran, expressing the hope that Iran will see reason and justice.

President Mubarak called on the Palestinians to find what he termed as an equation for the recognition of the Security Council Resolutions Nos 338 and 242, expressing his conviction that the solution of the Palestinian problem can only come through negotiations. He said that from all this Egypt wants a just solution for the Palestinian issue. He expressed conviction that as long as the Arabs delay taking their seats round the discussion table their losses will increase.

The Egyptian president blamed the Palestinians and said that they had lost many opportunities since 1948; they also squandered the opportunity of the Mena House which the late President Anwar al-Sadat called for, for a reciprocal recognition between the Palestinians and the Zionist entity.

Regarding the credibility of the enemy in accepting the international conference on the Palestinian issue, especially after Yitzhak Shamir has become the Israeli prime minister, Mubarak said that agreement on convening this conference is not linked to one single person but to the person of the Israeli prime minister; however the possibility of changing the situation by Shamir is another matter, and this is quite clear in Shamir's rejection of the Soviet Union's attendance of the conference.

Regarding the economic crisis from which Egypt is suffering and which dates back prior to 1981, Mubarak said that the crisis is due to the purchase of weapons that had to be purchased in order to ensure force for the protection of national decision. Efforts to resolve the crisis are making steady progress, he said.

In his two separate interviews with the Kuwaiti newspapers AL-ANBA' and AL-SIYASAH President Mubarak said that the crux of the problem in these debts is the military debts for which Egypt has to pay 600 to 800 million dollars a year in interest.

The Egyptian president criticized the U.S. attitude toward the question of Egyptian debts to United States. The United States, he stressed, did not offer what it should offer in this regard. Mubarak rejected the World Bank pressures on Egypt on the grounds that they jeopardize Egyptian sovereignty.

Mubarak stressed that since he assumed office he absolutely did not obtain any military debts. What he obtained was outright grants, stressing that the debts from which Egypt is suffering date back to the period 1978-1981.

He expressed the hope that his country will be able to repay these debts with work, sweat, efforts, and production.

# ISLAMIC BANKING PRACTICES DISCUSSED

## Islamic Legal Experts Connected to Banks Criticized

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 23 Dec 86 p 7

[Article by Fahmi Huwayda: "Once Again, the Banks' Experts on Islamic Law"]

[Text] The giving of expert Islamic legal opinion within an Islamic economic concern is a problem that needs a solution. It is not enough for us to challenge the legitimacy of certain sorts of investment into which the money of Muslims has flowed--currency speculation, for example, or trade in gold. The other side of the problem is to be found in the persons who bless such dealings and rule them permissible and licit: the Islamic lawyers chosen by these institutions to exercise Islamic legal surveillance. These persons become beneficiaries of the institutions in question, even though their independence remains a necessary safeguard for their performing their duties in a way pleasing to God.

I know that this is a delicate and thorny question: first, because it touches a group of senior Islamic scholars and legal experts who stand in the first rank of the shaykhs of our time; second, because the subject is closely linked to the conscience of these legal experts and their religious integrity; third, because people consider exaggerated accusations to be an injustice that goes beyond the truth and which no one can accept, not to mention to fact that generalizing such accusations and allowing them to be made without qualification wounds any Islamic legal experts who have risen above the temptations, continued to hold fast to their religion, and refused to sell their place in the hereafter for worldly advantage.

However, our reverence and respect for this latter group must not prevent our speaking frankly to them about what we believe to be true. We point out from the outset that our criticism does not impugn the integrity of anyone, but it does take into account the fact that all men are flesh and blood, of differing degrees of strength and weakness, and that we are in an age when the powerful are respected, an age in which the structure of values has been shaken and in which the sources of temptation and forms of confusion are varied.

We also mention that experience has proven that the required independence of these Islamic legal experts has been violated by the fact that the majority of them derive benefit from these economic institutions. Although the minority who have risen above this please God by their words and actions, even they have exposed themselves to unnecessary suspicion.

I have gone into this subject on a previous occasion among other matters published under the title, "The Ordeal of al-Azhar." I called attention to the fact that six members of the Academy of Islamic Research, the highest body concerned with Islamic law in Egypt, serve as consultants to the Islamic banks. I said that under the economic open-door policy our Islamic legal experts have found themselves facing powerful enticements whose pressures the obvious majority of them have not been able to resist.

#### Why Open the File?

From that time (last February) until now, five important things have happened. First, some of the formal legal opinions issued by the Islamic legal surveillance departments at some of these Islamic banks have appeared, making it easy for us to read what has been published and to compare what has come out in Cairo with what has come out in Kuwait, Dubayy, or the Sudan.

Second, the Islamic banks and investment companies have channeled huge sums into the field of foreign currency and precious metals speculation. Third, some of these banks and investment companies have suffered a series of losses due to these speculations, losses amounting to tens of millions of dollars. In Egypt, at least, this has stimulated a call for a review of the behavior of these businesses.

Fourth, a tendency opposed to the investment of funds in currency and gold trading has begun to develop within the Islamic banks, not only because such investments are a gamble certain to fail, but also because the legitimacy in Islamic law of such investments is surrounded by doubt. We discussed this last week.

Cairo recently witnessed a public confrontation on this subject between two men from one of the big Islamic banks. At the opening session of a conference of Islamic bank investment directors, an Egyptian official called on these banks to take on a larger role in the field of industrialization. He was countered by a senior Islamic legal expert at that bank, who opposed the call and said that nothing of the sort was demanded of the banks. Rather, they ought to operate in religiously permissible trade, without any other consideration, since, as the Prophetic tradition says, "nine-tenths of wealth comes from trade." However, a member of the board of directors of the same bank, Dr 'Abd-al-Sabur Marzuq, strongly criticized this position. He said that money, according to the Islamic concept, has a social function, and that the neglect of this function expresses a consciousness lacking a sense of religion and of its mission. The commercial activity that Islam advocates is one not separated from the proper function of money, so that it brings benefit to all.

Fifth, the board of directors of the Union of Islamic Banks took up the subject of Islamic legal surveillance at its October 1986 meeting in Istanbul. It recommended studying how cooperation could take place between the Academy of Islamic Law, which is a branch of the Islamic Conference Organization, and the High Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance, which is affiliated with the union, and whether the Academy of Islamic Law could perform the role of this High Board of Surveillance.

These five reasons, in addition to the continuing uproar arising from the behavior of certain Islamic legal experts affiliated with the banks, have contributed to focusing light on the problem of Islamic legal oversight in all of its elements, especially the problem of finding a solution to a difficult equation: the fact that Islamic legal experts derive benefit from the banks, even though their independence from them is necessary so that they can perform their job properly.

I would like to indicate here that stopping this [financial] benefiting is not my concern. What most concerns me is providing the best possible circumstances for guaranteeing the independence of these Islamic legal experts, in order to preserve their neutrality and integrity, and in order to safeguard the value of what they represent and symbolize. I am also interested in having the money of Muslims invested for the benefit of their present and future, without foolhardy risks or dubious activities. I am equally interested in having the Islamic banks set an example of competence in the application of Islam and in having them be a faithful expression of the idea they represent.

#### Debatable Legal Opinions

According to the Egyptian experience, the banks' Islamic legal experts permit three operations surrounded with many question marks. These are:

--Dealings in precious metals, especially gold: Even though Egyptian law forbids banks from trading in these metals, the Islamic legal surveillance permits it, and there is nothing to prove that commitment to the prohibition has been complete.

--Buying and selling foreign currencies: This has led to the wasting of tens of millions of dollars in such foolhardy adventures.

Last week, I explained the dubiousness that surrounds such operations in Islamic law. I held that such speculations abuse the function of money as it is established in Islam.

--Collection of what is due to the bank in commercial operations before purchase: Whenever a commercial customer goes to borrow from an Islamic bank to finance any kind of economic activity, the bank, if it approves the principal, does not advance him a loan. Rather, it becomes his partner in what is called "murabahah" (resale with a stated surcharge which represents the profit). It purchases for his account what he wants, then divides his profit with him, according to the prescribed Islamic formula. However, what

happens is that the bank also lays claim to another sum of money from the businessman, as a "fund-management fee." This sum, which the bank collects with permission from the Islamic legal surveillance, in reality equals the interest rate charged by the other banks when they lend money to customers. In other words, it is virtually a legal fiction for charging interest under a different name.

There is a fourth problem faced by all the Islamic banks: their deposits greatly exceed their ability to invest or the ability of local conditions to absorb these funds. As a consequence, these banks have taken to investing only a part of these deposits, while the greatest portion of them remain idle and not put to work. But since all depositors naturally want returns on their deposits, what actually happens is that the returns on the portion invested are distributed among all depositors, which is what the Islamic surveillance bodies have approved.

That means: Some depositors draw returns on their idle funds that have not earned a profit. These returns are owed to others whose funds have been put to work or invested, while the funds that lie frozen without being invested remain screened off from any share in developing the actual world or building up society.

Some may say that those who make bank policies are responsible for these activities and that the experts on Islamic law should not be held responsible for them. This is relatively true, insofar as the Islamic banks, which are an experiment no more than 10 years old, have not been able to free themselves completely from the influence of the method and outlook of the banks that charge interest, especially since a considerable proportion of those who work in these banks were trained in the other kind of bank.

Nevertheless, the responsibility of the experts on Islamic law remains, inasmuch as they have permitted these operations and have given them justification in Islamic law. Some of them have gone so far as to play the part of legitimizers for the perpetual desires and ambitions of certain bank heads for realizing profit.

#### Facing the Power of Money

Outside of this general framework, and on a different level, we can make the following observations:

--Because of lack of review or coordination, some Islamic legal opinions have gone to great extremes. One Islamic legal expert, for example, has pronounced "the interest on profit" to be permissible. This is the increase in money that is imposed on the debtor upon repayment of his indebtedness, or, as it is called in the Egyptian countryside, "fa'id" ("interest"). For example, he has given the legal opinion that when funds not involved in religiously forbidden transactions are mingled with funds involved in religiously forbidden transactions, the former funds "purify" the latter, which is quite the contrary of everything that has been said on the subject. The least that can be said is that this raises suspicion about him.

--Some Islamic legal experts that deal with more than one economic concern have proceeded to withhold Islamic legal opinions from some organizations and issue them to others that pay a higher fee or through which they can realize greater benefit. Some have issued legal opinions during their work in Islamic legal surveillance and have drawn a fee for the opinions, but then have retained the opinions and required that anyone who wanted to use them afterwards pay a fee for every legal opinion.

--Since they are dealing with banks that have money and available funds, some of them avoid participating in any activity for which remuneration is not paid. This includes the ordinary meetings held within the banks, for which they demand monthly remuneration in addition to the remuneration that is paid for the meetings of the Islamic legal surveillance committees and various other groups. This represents a considerable amount of wealth in a country like Egypt.

I do not wish to go on at length and speak in detail, or to embark upon other pages of the record filled with activities that paint a saddening picture of how quickly some people have responded to the temptation of money, how weak they have been in regard to it, how they have striven by various means to satisfy the heads of banks, and of the involvement by some of them in illegal activities, such as fraud and the exploitation of banking projects for their own benefit.

We thank God that all those who are employed in giving formal Islamic legal opinions are a small number among the Islamic legal experts of our time (in Egypt they can be numbered on the fingers of two hands) and that those who have done so much disservice to themselves and to what they represent are a minority among a minority. Nevertheless, we state once again that weakness before the power of money is in various degrees a characteristic of most of the Islamic legal experts who have derived benefit from the banks.

By the same token, we thank God that some of our Islamic legal experts have refused to place themselves in such a position. Some have excused themselves from accepting rewarding appointments in large banks; others have gone along with them part of the way, but, when the first signs of temptation and enticement appears, have set their affairs in order and quietly withdrawn. Had they not refused to have their names published, I would have enumerated them one by one. One of them made me swear not to do so. He is a former Egyptian minister of awqaf (Islamic charitable trusts).

Things should be called what they are. Allow us also to record that what we consider to be weakness on the part of some people has apparently been considered a merit by decisionmakers in some banks. Like most people who have power and authority, they are pleased with people who give support, justification, and agreement. Their hearts do not incline toward people who insist on the truth and who do not enjoy the required degree of "flexibility."

## A Wage, Not a Prize

How can this temptation be reduced?

Although we acknowledge that the problem is larger than this limited circle of Islamic legal experts, and that human weakness in the face of temptation has become a phenomenon deserving study and decisive treatment, we still believe that what the Islamic legal experts represent is a matter that is very special in nature. They are not ordinary individuals. They are standard-bearers and symbols of religion, heirs of the prophets.

Ibn Qayyim (d. 1350) held that it is fundamentally impermissible to demand payment for a fatwa (a formal Islamic legal opinion). The rendering of such opinions is the communication of information from God and His prophet. One cannot be compensated for this. It is as if the mufti (one who delivers a formal Islamic legal opinion) were to say: "I will not teach you about Islam, or about how to perform the ablutions, or about how to pray unless you pay me a fee." This is definitely forbidden. He must return the compensation; he does not own it. ("A'lam al-Muwaqqi'in," vol. 4, p. 23)

Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 1071) quoted al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728) as saying that the Islamic legal expert is godfearing and ascetic. He is someone who "does not take the ephemeral goods of this world in exchange for the knowledge of God." He then said explicitly that "it is not permitted for the mufti to receive a fee from the persons to whom he gives an opinion about Islamic law, just as it is not allowable for the judge (the gadi) to accept payment from the persons for or against whom he is going to judge."

Then he added: The imam (the leader of the Islamic community) must allocate to whoever exerts himself to teach or deliver formal opinions on Islamic law such [sustenance] as will relieve him of the need to practice [another] profession or seek financial gain. This should be done from the public treasury. (al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, "Kitab al-Faqih wa-l-Mutafaqqih," vol. 2, p. 164)

There is no dispute about the fact that it is forbidden for a mufti to demand payment from the party to which he renders a formal legal opinion, for in such a case impartiality would be difficult or impossible. We do not, however, ask anyone who teaches Islamic law or who gives formal opinions about it to work for nothing. The question is, Who is to pay: the party who has an interest in the opinion, or some other party who is neutral?

Since the first possibility is the essence of the problem we are now discussing, I see no alternative, if we are to avoid the dangers I have indicated, but for an agency independent of the banks to exercise Islamic legal surveillance. This agency might be affiliated with al-Azhar University, with the Academy of Islamic Law, or with some other disinterested party.

Yes, this solution is not lacking in dangers. It might open the door to other problems arising from the interference of the interests of certain governments. However, I think that in such a case that damage would be less. In reality, our choice is not between pure advantage and pure disadvantage, but between the lesser of two disadvantages--and God alone knows best!

## Experts on Islamic Law Defended

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 7 Jan 87 p 7

[Article by Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il: "Rather, the Legal Experts of Islam"]

[Text] AL-AHRAM received a reply from Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, a member of the People's Assembly and of the Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance of Fayṣal Islamic Bank, to the article by Fahmi Huwayda published on this page 2 weeks ago under the title, "The Banks' Experts on Islamic Law." What follows is an extract from Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il's reply, and a comment on it by Fahmi Huwayda.

Professor Fahmi Huwayda's article entitled, "The Bank's Experts on Islamic Law," contained sharp attacks on venerable Islamic legal experts whom my writer friend unfortunately called "the banks' legal experts," thereby degrading them from their place and position as legal experts and scholars of Islam to what was implied by the title of his article. In addition to this implication, he explicitly impugns the independence of Islamic legal experts and makes them a target for the arrows of accusation. While making sharp attacks on them, he registered his sympathy for them in the face of great material temptations! He even attributed to most of them his own weakness in the face of great material temptation!

If Professor Fahmi Huwayda had only been correct in his attack, we would have found in his words nourishment from which to benefit. However, he has stumbled and fallen down on the following points:

- 1) The article strangely confused "musharakah" (partnership) and "murabahah" (resale with a stated surcharge which represents the profit), although the two are elementary concepts of Islamic law.
- 2) The article gives the impression that the Islamic banks offer customers loans with interest in order to finance their economic activity, as is done by the banks that charge interest. This is completely contrary to what really happens. Islamic law recognizes only an interest-free loan, which is not a means of investing funds--although Islamic banks offer such interest-free loans when necessary.
- 3) The article incorrectly maintained that when the Islamic banks enter into partnership with customers in their profits, they charge them in addition to what the author called, "a fund-management fee." That is by no means correct. The article accused the Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance of permitting this. This is a serious mistake and a false accusation.
- 4) The article erred in imagining that there are funds lying idle and uninvested and that the owners of these funds draw from the profits of the funds that have been invested.

[The Charge] Is More Appropriate for Others than Islamic Legal Experts!

It was only natural for the Islamic banks to seek guidance and direction from Islamic scholars and the advice of Islamic legal experts. Given the fact that the mission of Islamic scholars intersected with the hopes of investors, it was only natural for Islamic scholars to respond to the hopes of shareholders for a purification of investment from usury, which is a major sin, one of the seven mortal sins.

The possibility of weakness on the part of the Islamic legal expert before bank leaders leads us by irresistible force of logic to grant the possibility of even greater weakness before greater and more powerful leaders. This means loss of confidence in Islamic scholars and legal experts if they have dealings with anyone who has worldly authority. It would be necessary, if Islamic scholars wished to be safe religiously and temporally and to guard their reputation, that they not have dealings with any president, minister, or leader, whether connected with a bank or not. I repeat: according to the logic of Professor Fahmi Huwayda, this would be necessary if they wanted their religion to be sound and to be safe in this world and the next. On the basis of such a chain of logic, we should close the doors of al-Azhar University, because its Islamic scholars draw their salaries from the state and hold their positions by state decree. There is a possibility that they may be weak in the face of the authority of the state; and, according to Professor Fahmi Huwayda's notion, we have no need of people who sell their religion for their own temporal benefit, let alone for the temporal benefit of others!

This sort of assertion about Islamic scholars can be made even more strongly about ministers, eminent people, writers, and intellectuals--and even about Professor Fahmi Huwayda himself! One might suppose that Islamic scholars are better acquainted than others with God, destiny, what is forbidden and what is permitted, and with the spirit and letter of Islamic law.

If we allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by this possibility raised by Professor Fahmi Huwayda concerning Islamic scholars and legal experts, a possibility that logically extends to others, the interior of the earth would be better for mankind than its surface, and it would be all over for the world! The likelihood of losing hope in it would be stronger than the likelihood of finding pure and righteous men.

The writer of these lines is a member of the Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance of Faysal Islamic Bank of Egypt, elected by the shareholders to oversee, together with his senior fellow-members of the Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance, the investment methods at Faysal Islamic Bank of Egypt. What conforms to the rules of Islamic law we approve. If we find anything that is otherwise, we summon the person in charge of the investment operation and advise him, and we keep our eyes on him to see whether he acts according to the directives of Islam or against them. That is our job. As can be seen, it is an honorable, noble, precise, and technical one. The shareholders have elected us for it. In return for our performance of our Islamic function, and as established by the bank's statute, they have assigned us and the board of directors a remuneration fixed every year by the General Shareholders' Association.

Shall I leave my position at Faysal Islamic Bank of Egypt to save myself from the charge your article brings against us? How could I do so, when that would be to neglect a duty entrusted to us by the investors? How could I do so, when I am observing, inspecting, advising, and directing, and encounter nothing but compliance and cooperation toward uprightness and piety?

#### A Protest Based on Error

I did not imagine that the article would advance positive law as an argument if it contradicts the provision of Islamic law on some matter. That, however, is what happened when the author wished to prohibit buying and selling currency. This, however, is one of the necessities of life, and the rules for it are specified in the books of Islamic jurisprudence under the chapter heading of "exchange." These rules find their basis in what the Prophet said concerning the sale and purchase of money: "If the two varieties are different, sell as you wish, from hand to hand." Notice the words, "as you wish." There is freedom, restricted only by such prohibited things as an intent to corner the market, cause damage, or engage in prohibited exploitation. Notice the words, "from hand to hand," the aim of which is prevent uncertainty. Is there anyone who as a Muslim would dare to prohibit what God has permitted?

The article is very bold against Islamic scholars and legal experts. Islamic scholars fear only God. Their only fault is that as agents for investors they accept the remuneration assigned to them by those who appointed them conscientiously to exercise Islamic legal surveillance over the investment methods at Islamic banks, in order to attend to what is permitted, and avoid what is dubious, not to mention interest and what is prohibited. The article mentioned what one of the classical scholars of Islamic law said: that it is the duty of the head of state to allocate to whoever exerts himself to teach jurisprudence or the rules of Islamic law such [sustenance] as will relieve him of the need to practice [another] profession or seek financial gain. This should be done from the public treasury!

I ask my friend the author where the ruler's obligation to do so is to be found within the necessary obligations he has according to Islamic law, especially, in the matter of banks that charge interest. Can you give thorough details about the obligation of rulers to apply the law of God?

Your doubt applies to us only if it were the nature of the job of the Board of Islamic Legal Surveillance to sell its religion for its own worldly gain or for the worldly gain of others. Since that is not the case, either in actuality or in what the investors think, either in the job we have accepted or in what we observe and perceive concerning the methods of the board of directors, from where do the gales of suspicion blow, dear friend?

You demanded that the Islamic banks set an example of competence in the application of Islam and that they should be an expression of the idea they represent. You failed to see that this demand requires the existence of a board of Islamic legal surveillance to advise, direct, give legal opinion, and guide. That is the requirement for what you want, and that is the condition upon which depends the desired application of Islam. How can you turn something that is a requirement for hope into something that prevents hope?

Stressing my affection for you and my deep esteem for you pen, I wish that you would leave it to non-Islamic writers to defame the honor of the majority of Islamic scholars as you pen has done. I mean that you have not left anyone unwounded, for it has become public knowledge. You felt that you were in an invulnerable position and wanted to make it a cover. But your idle talk has attacked your invulnerable position. It is always to be hoped that someone like you will defend the Islamic banks. We pray that God will defend the experiment of them from crises, from deliberate evils, and from vicissitudes.

And I pray also that God will forgive us and you, and that he will guide us all to his straight path.

Author of the Original Criticism Replies

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 7 Jan 87 p 7

[Article by Fathi Huwayda: "Islamic Leadership Before the Turban"]

[Text] I fear we shall lose track of the outlines of the case at issue if we discuss everything contained in Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il's reply. Perhaps we shall be able to avoid getting lost if we take up the discussion from the same point of entry as was used by the earliest Islamic scholars in their debates. Allow us to hold to their path, even if we are unable to follow their example in other matters. Let us begin by defining the disagreement and clarifying the substance of the disputed question, so that everyone can know where each party stands and what position he has committed himself to defending.

Discussion of the investment of Muslims' funds in certain areas we believe to be of dubious status in Islamic law (particularly currency and gold trading) has led us to broach the question of the Islamic legal experts who perform the function of Islamic legal surveillance in some of these businesses (particularly the banks). I said that this situation raises a delicate question, one that I called "a different equation," because these Islamic legal experts, who stand in the front rank of the shaykhs of our time, have become beneficiaries of these banks, even while their independence from them remains an essential safeguard of their performance of that function in a way pleasing to God. I quoted the opinions of certain eminent Islamic jurists, such as Ibn Qayyim and al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, that it is not permitted to charge a fee for fatwa (a formal opinion on Islamic law), inasmuch as the Islamic legal consultant who received a fee from the persons to whom he offers an opinion would be like a judge who takes money from the persons for or against whom he is going to pronounce judgment--as al-Khatib al-Baghdadi said.

In this context, I said: "What most concerns me is providing the best possible circumstances for guaranteeing the independence of these Islamic legal experts, in order to preserve their neutrality and integrity, and in order to safeguard the value of what they represent and symbolize. I am also interested in having the money of Muslims invested for the benefit of

their present and future, without foolhardy risks or dubious activities. I am equally interested in having the Islamic banks set an example of competence in the application of Islam and in having them be a faithful expression of the idea they represent."

When the course of the discussion led to the need for experts in Islamic law to be independent and removed from circumstances arousing covetousness and from temptation, I called at the end of the article for "an agency independent of the banks to exercise Islamic legal surveillance."

This is the issue, the subject of the article that aroused Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il. If I have quoted certain expressions exactly, I wanted first to define the position and stand I was trying to defend. Second, I thought that I would thereby protect myself from having to discuss our shaykh's allegation that I was impugning the honor of Islamic scholars, insulting the Islamic banks, or calling for the abolition of Islamic legal surveillance.

#### Where Does the Shaykh Stand?

If we return to answering our distinguished shaykh and ask where he stands and what he is defending, we shall find that his fundamental position is for a continuation of the present situation (deriving benefit from the banks) and that his fundamental defense rests on there being no temptation and no doubtfulness. The experts on Islamic law are performing their role as well as one could possibly wish.

While we call for the experts to be independent of the banks out of concern for the role of Islamic leadership they represent, the shaykh hastens to reply by setting the turban to block the way! He alludes to the charge of insulting Islamic scholars, saying that what I said will lead to a loss of confidence in these scholars.

Although we envy the shaykh his happiness and approval of the existing situation and his eagerness to have it continue, we stress that the fears we raised and the call for independence that we adopted do not emerge from a vacuum, nor are they merely the echo of a sad situation into which certain persons numbered among the "scholars of Islam" have gotten. The warning we gave has been sounded by people higher than we, in front of those who were more pious than he. If he denies the possible weakness of Islamic legal experts in the face of the influence of money or power, we would remind him of what the Messenger of God said in the hearing of his companions: "The most hateful of Qur'an readers (i.e., experts in Islamic law) to God are those who visit princes."

The Messenger of God would not have warned and cautioned against visiting princes and consorting with rulers unless he had perceived the possibilities of human weakness and had been eager to protect particularly the experts on Islamic law by removing them from situations of enticement and temptation.

I would also remind our honored shaykh of another report coming from the Messenger of God concerning our subject. He said: "I do not fear that you

will become polytheists after my death. Rather, I fear that you will vie with each other in desiring." The Imam al-Ghazali explained what he meant, saying that the Prophet "feared that they would vie in desiring money."

This is the path the companions of the Prophet and the succeeding generation followed, and it is what the Imam al-Ghazali said in the second volume of the "Ihya." Ibn al-Jawzi referred to it in "Talbis Iblis," al-Qarafi in "al-Ahkam," as did many others. Our shaykh knows and understands all of this better than I, naturally. But I ask his permission to repeat for his hearing in this article some things that he knows:

"Do not come at the doors of rulers. You will get nothing of their worldly goods unless they get from you what is better, your religion." (Abu-Dharr al-Ghifari)

"There is nothing more hateful to God than a scholar who visits a governor." (al-Awza'i)

"How disgusting is the scholar who is not at home when people come to him, who, when one asks about him, one is told: 'He is with the prince; he is with the vizier; he is with the judge!'" (Sahnun)

This famous Maliki legal expert, Sahnun, is the one who said that if a scholar frequents the judge or the ruler three times without need, his testimony becomes unacceptable in court!

#### The Legal Opinion that You Are Ignoring

In this part also, the shaykh makes us say what we never said. He brings in part of the legal opinions we mentioned and ignores the more important part when he thinks that the implication of what I said is that Islamic scholars and legal experts should not have dealings with anyone who has worldly power. This is a distorted deduction. There is no objection, naturally, to the principle of having such dealings. The point where danger lies and where caution is required is the basis on which the Islamic scholar has dealings with those who have power, the formula whereby such dealings take place, and whether they take place on a basis of self-interest or of independence.

Since we always side with the need for Islamic legal experts to be independent of the ruling power, whatever its kind, we have called repeatedly for entrenching this independence by all available means. Funding the budget of al-Azhar and the salaries of Islamic scholars from the returns of large waqfs remains a formula that may be acceptable for realizing this hope.

I quoted the formal opinion of al-Khatib al-Baghdadi in which he forbade the mufti from demanding a fee from the persons to whom he provides a legal opinion and suggested that he be paid from the public treasury. However, Shaykh Salah completely ignored the opinion of al-Baghdadi and Ibn al-Qayyim and asked me, in the second half of the article, about the duty of rulers to apply the law of God. This is an important question. We agree with him in posing it, but it is a different question. The part that he overlooked is what he ought to have attended to in the context we are now in.

Finally, the shaykh accused us of being so bold as to forbid trading in foreign currencies (he did not mention gold). Had he read carefully what I wrote, he would have found that I used words like "dubiousness," or "question marks about the legitimacy in Islamic law." I did not mention the word "forbidding," a word whose weight and magnitude I know. He disapproved of our position rejecting the investment of Muslims' funds in this area.

Nevertheless, I would remind the shaykh of two things that he knows well. First, that under certain circumstances what is permissible may be legally restricted. Second, the element of harm is present in the investment of Muslims' funds in what is not for the benefit of their society, a society that is now very much in need of such funds.

I do not want to go into anything further. I think the matter has become clear to everyone, and that everyone who has good sense can tell exactly who is defending the legal experts of Islam and who is defending the legal experts of the banks.

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PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY MEMBER MUHAMMAD HASAN AL-ZAYYAT INTERVIEWED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 8 Dec 86 pp 15-18

[Interview by Usamah al-Mansur: "Dr Muhammad Hasan al-Zayyat to AL-DUSTUR: 'There Will Be No Arab Summit As Long As Libyan Missiles Shell Baghdad'"]

[Text] Conditions in Egypt--stability and other problems; government programs and relations with the opposition; the recent cabinet reshuffle; the economic crisis and the future of government subsidies; Egyptian relations with Israel, the future of Taba, and the arbitration over it; Egypt's relations with the Arabs and the rest of the world--all are issues worthy of discussion with any Egyptian politician but not with Dr Muhammad Hasan al-Zayyat, member of the Egyptian Peoples Assembly and member of the ruling Nationalist Party.

He refused to discuss them because "it is not proper for an Egyptian abroad to comment on Egypt's internal affairs." Nevertheless, there remained several other issues on which to base a lengthy interview. Dr al-Zayyat was foreign minister at the time of the historic October war and then became an advisor to the late President Anwar al-Sadat during a controversial period that still raises many questions.

Dr Muhammad al-Zayyat stated at the beginning of the interview: "I am now a member of the Peoples Assembly from Damietta where I was born and to which I owe my education. After leaving public life I felt I still owed the citizens of Damietta and that I must contribute to the renaissance of Egypt by helping the development of its towns and villages. This applies equally to the Arab world, where a large gap exists between the capitals and the remote, neglected villages. I work within the governorate with its sons, my brethren. I consider this to be political action aimed at regional and social development in our small homeland which will in turn contribute to the development of Egypt--an Arab part--then to the entire Arab whole."

[Question] You have not done any government work since you left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Answer] I now chair the Committee on Culture, Information, and Tourism in the Peoples Assembly. I don't know where the educational renaissance ends and the political, social, industrial, and commercial renaissance begins. I consider education and culture to be the basis for any renaissance, even a political one. There can be no parliamentary life for an ignorant people. No one

can shoulder the burden of political awareness and of political planning if one is himself ignorant or the leader of an ignorant people. Work in the cultural arena is therefore work in the political field.

[Question] Let us talk about the domestic situation in Egypt, especially in view of the recent cabinet reshuffle.

[Answer] No, I do not talk about the domestic situation in Egypt when I am outside the country.

[Question] Would this rule apply to a question about the government, the opposition, and the relations between them?

[Answer] All this presupposes discussions with Egyptian officials and should be handled from within. An Egyptian should not discuss Egypt when he is abroad. You should not discuss your country unless you are in it. Aside from that, let me say that we are all fine!

[Question] Would you say a word about President Mubarak's regime, now that he is a few years into his rule?

[Answer] The previous comment still applies.

[Question] Does it also apply to Egyptian-Israeli relations on the eve of the first meeting of the Taba arbitration panel?

[Answer] You have to ask the foreign minister of Egypt.

[Question] What is Egypt's current position vis-a-vis peace in the region?

[Answer] This is an important national issue. Since the days of Adam, no war has taken place in the world without its ending in peace. There is no such thing as a continuous state of war. Until 1947, the result of war was that the powerful controlled the weak and dictated the conditions for peace. Occupied territories therefore became the rightful spoil of the conqueror.

International law recognizes the right of conquest. Personalities met here in London after World War II to settle accounts for both the victors and the defeated. The balance sheet showed that even the victor was a loser in large measure. By engaging in war, the whole world wasted several years and accomplished little production or progress. It was then said that a lesson must be learned and that the world should be changed and be ruled by law and justice, not by force.

The United Nations charter was drawn for that purpose. Its most important element is to render war fruitless and the victor prizeless. That way, war would end in a just peace as stated in the UN charter, whose second article declares every people's right to self-determination.

But certain countries cannot accept the logic of civilization. South Africa, with its policy of apartheid, denies blacks equality with whites. If we are

to live in the world today it must be under United Nations rules, which should govern peace in the Middle East or any other region not partially but in all-encompassing way. Those rules are well known and enunciated in the resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly as well as the decisions of the Security Council. Some of the latter were made unanimously, thus having a greater impact because they represented the will not only of the world's conscience but also of the big powers.

Pursuing Middle East peace outside the framework of the UN charter would not be in conformity with the requirements now existing in the world. True peace must be comprehensive and based on the principles to which all member of the United Nations ascribed by signing the charter and approving it under the terms of their individual constitutions. For instance, the United States is bound not only by the UN charter but also by the American law that approved that charter. This also applies to ourselves as Arabs.

In short, there will be no permanent peace in the Middle East until it is enjoyed by all on the basis of one premise--justice.

[Question] Israel, of course, is the one odd element that refuses any internationalization of the peace process.

[Answer] Egypt's position is known. It has representatives who speak for it. I am not one of them.

[Question] Generally speaking, talk of a peaceful settlement to the Middle East conflict brings us to the famed Security Council Resolution 242, which is considered by some parties as a solution and by others as an impediment.

[Answer] Whoever discusses this resolution must read a Georgetown University booklet in which Lord Caradon explained 242. He said that all lands occupied on 5 June 1967 must be returned. As for the Palestinians, whoever discusses the resolution should remember the amplification issued by the Security Council in July 1967 after Egypt requested reconsideration of the entire issue, beginning with the decision of November 1967. At that time, I submitted in the name of Egypt a draft resolution approved by 14 members of the council, including China, which demanded a better one. The American representative, however, vetoed the resolution, which contained the following amplification: "The political rights of the Palestinian people should be respected and the armies should return to the positions they had on the evening of 5 June 1967."

Whereas the Security Council has explained that its resolution calls for an end to the occupation of all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, many have forgotten that the resolution also decreed the appointment of a representative of the secretary general who would work and research and then report back to the Security Council, which represents the world's conscience and is composed of 15 members, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, France, and other non-permanent member states.

This means going back to the concept of an international conference, which is a very important point. Resolution 242 therefore stipulates the convening of an international conference to act as a judge competent to review this issue and rule on it in closed or open meetings to be attended by all the parties including Israel and the PLO.

That resolution, in other words, stipulates that the Palestinian issue be decided by the whole world, not by one or two or three nations. That is the form. As for the substance, the Security Council must rule in accordance with the provisions of the UN charter. It can ignore them no more than a Shari'ah judge can ignore the provisions of the Qur'an. The second article of the charter affirms every nation's right to self-determination.

[Question] In any case, Israel's refusal is well known and well documented. Must we, in this discussion, also exclude the relationship between Egypt and the Arabs as we excluded its internal situation?

[Answer] No, not yesterday, today, or tomorrow! A general overview would indicate that today the names of the superpowers all begin with a "U" such as the United States and the USSR. This indicates that they are unions of smaller entities. We live in a world where larger unions band together. World society begins with one family then by a nation. All nations capable of dealing with each other must unite.

In 1971, President Nixon reported to the American Congress on the state of the world. Referring to the Middle East, he noted that this region, which denotes the Arab bloc, has come to have an adequate labor force and enough capital for development. He added that because of that combination, the area deserved to be reclassified from developing to developed. That was theoretical talk since Nixon thought that integration and mutual agreement could be realized in our circle which occupies a large area of the world map. This we did not accomplish because we still lack a coherent unity in our cultural and economic development.

Imagine today that any Arabic-speaking person is under the wing of an effective united community. Look at the Scandinavian union of the northern countries, all of whose citizens have equal rights and obligations no matter within what organization and regardless of how different the political systems are. We must accomplish such a union in the Arab world. I am sure it is our destiny regardless of adverse trends and circumstances.

[Question] Do you agree with the view that the Arab League is finished and has expired as an organization, as proven by the absence of an Arab summit for the past 3 years?

[Answer] Imagine that I came from Australia and was told that the Arab League was in session to discuss the Gulf war. I read the name tags and find seats for Libya, which cooperates with Iran in that war. There is also a name tag for Jordan, which cooperates with Iraq. Iraq and Iran are at war, which means that their allies are also at war. The end result is that there is within the league a civil war that is apparent even to those from

Mozambique or from Mars. It would be understandable if all the Arabs considered this issue and decided to support Iraq. This is a duty. The Hadith says: "Support your brother, right or wrong." When asked, "How can I support him in the wrong?" the Prophet answered: "By keeping him doing wrong." Actually, there is no wrong in this case but I would be amazed if one could convene a summit of infighting states.

[Question] Should one therefore wait until affairs within the league are normalized?

[Answer] That is not possible. When we discuss the chances of success by the United Nations, or even by a committee, we must consider whether its members are willing to concede part of their sovereignty or even their interests. It is now merely a question of hope in the United Nations because Chapter Seven, which stipulates policing powers, has been rendered impotent and unable to enforce the resolutions. The judge is the Security Council, which has no enforcement powers.

The same applies to the Arab League. They said since its inception that its resolution should be unanimous or by consensus and each member, small or large, was therefore given the right of veto. Things were reasonable a few years back when one could successfully use the language of persuasion and talk in terms of general Arab interests. One knew then that anything that harms one country would be extended to all Arab countries to the exclusion of none. Take the 1973 war, for instance. Its benefits were not limited to Arab combatants. The same applies to the 1967 war, whose consequences were not limited to those who lost the battle.

What can we do then? How do we achieve mature political consciousness in the whole area? Ask the leaders and makers of policies. I am no longer among them.

[Question] Once upon a time, King Husayn warned against the spread and dominance of sectarian trends in the Arab world because they form a new element that would fan the fires of turmoil in the region. This would definitely mean the absence of a unified political decision. Have these currents now reached the point of threatening the Arab entities themselves?

[Answer] If that means that foreign powers are to blame for the weakness and instability of the Arab world, then I quote the poet who said: "We blame the times when the blame is ours. There is nothing wrong with our times but us!"

Countries that are hurt by the presence of doctrines are countries without principle. We in the Arab world and in the Middle East, the birthplace of religions and civilizations, have principles that govern us. Existing doctrines--Muslim, Christian, or otherwise--would provide enough material to write a book on social justice.

As far as Egypt is concerned, we are building a Peoples Assembly Museum which will house more than 100 years of written and published legal principles dealing with popular representation. The problem is that we do not implement

our beliefs, or don't believe our own pronouncements. We must begin implementing the principles we have unanimously adopted in the Arab world such as counsel, social justice, and equal opportunity. It is merely an excuse to say, for instance, that Marxism is spreading in a certain country and we are beginning to fear it, or that religious extremism in Iran is threatening the Sunni and other doctrines. A sound body would not be threatened by such a temporary sickness.

[Question] But there are the wars in Lebanon, in the Gulf, in southern Sudan. All are facts and are breeders of instability.

[Answer] I am talking about the future. Maybe it is philosophical for me to say that the sicknesses you mentioned should not be permitted. Is there a human being who understands the religious war in Lebanon? A country that used to be an example for coexistence between factions? Why did we allow our enemies to change a center of our pride into a point of shame? How did the Christian end up fighting the Christian, the Muslim fighting a Muslim, and the Shiite a Shiite? It is the degeneration of the body. We allow ourselves to decay without looking into the nature of our illness.

[Question] The issue of doctrinal currents and factional struggles through violence rather than dialogue--these have become the problem of the Arab peoples as well as of the ruling regimes. A minimum of national security should be maintained.

[Answer] Again, we go back to awareness, education, and culture not only in the context of the school, university, or even nation but also in the context of Arab information which is largely responsible for our situation. Information is like a factory for spreading principles through its printed and audio-visual tools. What put a stop to the Vietnam war but American television, which carried information on the war to the voters who were then able to influence their government?

We look forward to the day when Arab information butts up against doctrinal and factional wars. I dare say that information and education are the two feet that must carry the Arab nation into the future.

[Questions] Certain Arab politicians believe that if the Arab League cannot be revived, regional organizations, similar to the GCC, should be created for North Africa, the Middle East, and the Nile Valley.

[Answer] First we must inquire whether the league was beneficial. Was it pure evil or pure goodness? Its charter was based on the principle of consensus in order to avoid a conflict between governments. For instance, there were those, especially in countries with well-defined minorities, who feared that the organization might be turned into an Islamic League. Now one cannot deny the benefits of the league despite all the conflicts between countries of the left and of the right and despite abandoning the league's charter as the final arbiter.

As for regional communities or organizations, the Arab world has one heart and two wings. The latter cannot exist without the heart, which, in turn, cannot fly by itself. Countries of the Arab bloc have no alternative but to stick together if they are to preserve the Arab identity.

It is odd today, for instance, that European groupings are battling the elements of dissent while we fight the elements of agreement.

[Question] In certain views, the main problem is to amend the league's charter to solve the consensus crisis and to provide a reasonable degree of joint Arab effort and coordination.

[Answer] Amending the league's charter is a very old issue. I chaired a committee that was formed for that purpose when the league was headquartered in Cairo. The articles of that charter, which was created even before the UN charter, have been cohesively fused together like a balanced building. If you as much as change one letter the whole building would collapse. The same thing applies to the world organization.

The Arabs must be guided by that fact. It is a technical matter. There are political realities to consensus. How can you force Tunisia, for instance, to implement a resolution by the league? What if an Arab nation, because of its interests, refused to sever relations with South Africa? Would it be expelled from the league?

[Question] Maybe suspended?

[Answer] No, suspension means nothing to us Arabs. Chapter Seven of the UN charter poses the following question: What happens when a country ignores a resolution? That could trigger several actions including an economic boycott or enforcement by a military force that could be composed of the armies of the five superpowers signatory to the charter. But the whole world has been unable to implement UN resolutions forcibly. I think the Arab world would face the same dilemma.

It would have been wise to maintain a consensus. Wise from a practical, not from an ideological, viewpoint. There is always the pragmatist and the ideologist. No sovereign country can be forcibly made to obey, otherwise wars would erupt and we would go back to the era of Muhammad 'Ali or to the Italian or German methods--forced unity, in other words!

At any rate, the lack of Arab unity is not caused by the consensus stipulation. The cause is the absence of consensus itself.

[Question] With the European Community, the opposition of any member country does not vacate the political resolutions of the group, as is the case with the Arab League.

[Answer] Resolutions come in a variety of ways. Consensus is not a condition, nor should it be, in resolutions by any of the league councils (cultural, economic, etc.). Even the budget does not require consensus. Consensus is

required for any decision that impacts on sovereignty, such as severing relations with South Africa....

[Question] Or the decision allowing the Arab Deterrent Force to enter Lebanon at the beginning of the civil war?

[Answer] That was a decision of the Arab Defense Council, which also complains of its inability to enforce its will.

[Question] President Husni Mubarak was invited to attend the upcoming Islamic summit in Kuwait. Do you consider this a preamble to Egypt's return to....

[Answer] If you mean the return of Egypt to Islam, it never left it. Islam itself does not allow anybody, no matter who, to disparage somebody else's faith.

[Question] The question is whether Egypt's attendance at the Islamic summit is a prelude to its return to the Arab League.

[Answer] And where does Egypt lie? As long as the league is splintered because of the Gulf war, I think it would lack not only validity but also life. It is inconceivable that Baghdad has been shelled by a missile that originated in Libya. This situation must be dealt with first and I don't know if it would be decisive in returning Egypt to the league or returning the league to Egypt.

[Question] The war in Lebanon is also one of the crises faced by the Arabs. Can it be said that the league will remain splintered as long as the Gulf war and the Lebanese tragedy continue?

[Answer] Of course, although it is not known for sure whether the splintering caused, or was caused by, the Iraq-Iran war and the bad situation in Lebanon. I was in New York in 1973 during the days of Arab euphoria. It was decided then to send a delegation of Arab ministers to meet President Nixon. I suggested the inclusion of brother 'Abdul Aziz Boutefliqah, then foreign minister of Algeria. Late at night, I realized that I made a mistake because Algeria had no diplomatic representative with the United States. I woke up Boutefliqah and told him. No matter what his current situation, I would like to put on the record his reply to me then. He said: "My instructions from the president of my republic are to listen to the foreign minister of Egypt.... Therefore, I'll go...." And indeed he did.

It would be a miracle if it became possible for the Arabs one day to have a single spokesman. He would not have to be an Egyptian, even when Egypt was at war. During that period we came to have real weight, which could have changed the course of history, but our enemies sowed dissension in the Arab world and splintered it as it is today. Despite all that, we were the catalyst that facilitated accomplishment of that goal.

The countries of the Arab region have the capability to become a third world power that balances the two superpowers, not to compete with them or destroy

them or engage them in Star Wars but to compete in production and engage in a wheat war, if we may use the expression.

[Question] We have been running in a vicious circle since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Do we confront our enemies first or do we devote our efforts to the goal of economic, political, and cultural coordination before engaging in foreign battles? Where do we go from here now that the battle is intra-Arab?

[Answer] In Ottoman days, Iraq had a representative, who was also a poet, on the Turkish "Council of Representatives," which included delegates from all the Arab states. One day he was examining the budget of the Ottoman navy when he found an allocation for incantations aboard the Sultan's ships. He said: "I was under the impression that the Sultan's ships are driven by honorable steam [Bukhar] rather than honorable Bukhari." [The homophony between Bukhar and Bukhari is employed here as a pun].

Dr al-Zayyat laughed and added: "The reference here is to the incantations in question." The Iraqi delegate noted that we put science aside and took to optimism and pessimism and began discussing subjects that had nothing to do with the running of ships. The deterioration of the Ottoman state then is similar to the deterioration of the Arabs today—it is related to the deterioration of education, culture, and awareness. But we should not despair. We should remember how many universities we used to have in our Arab world and that a resident of Tunisia or Morocco, for instance, did not know of the existence of Sharja on the Gulf.

[Question] Should we not despair despite the conditions in Lebanon, which goes through a civil war every century?

[Answer] This is because of the great disparity between the Lebanese as individuals and as families. Each family considers itself a state! I visited Lebanon in 1975 before the war broke out. I was the guest of a former foreign minister at his house in the Jebel area. When I asked about the arms I saw in his house he replied: "This is just in case. Who knows what the future will bring?"

The development of the entire world began with fishermen's tales, then with the history of tribes, then with nations. We still have not yet developed. Allegiance is to the tribe, not to the state. In Egypt, for example, or in Sudan they ask you whether you come from the north or from the south.

[Question] Let us go back to the time when you left the Foreign Ministry.

[Answer] That was at the end of the October 1973 war. It was my view that peace should follow any war. It had to be comprehensive, not partial, in which all the Arab world would participate in the context of diplomacy, or according to the art of the possible. A partial settlement had to end up in the problems we know.

I also recall a conversation with the late French President Georges Pompidou after the 1973 war but before any peace move had crystallized. He said that

the Arabs needed to remain under the umbrella of the United Nations and the umbrella of the Big Five because they will never accomplish all their demands. If they realized some of them through a world verdict, they would be in the position of the man who went to court but failed to get a judgment for all his demands. He may curse the judge, but he should accept the ruling.

Pompidou, who had great foresight, added that if Egypt arrived at a peaceful solution alone, all the other Arabs would revolt against it and if one war ended, another would begin. That is a verbatim account of what he said to me and I will not recount his reasoning.

I recall another anecdote about French President De Gaulle. It was relayed to me by his cabinet chief, who was later my colleague at the United Nations as permanent representative of France. He said that when Abba Eban met De Gaulle prior to the 1967 war, the general admonished him not to "shoot the first bullet nor to be the aggressor because if you enter the war you will win it but you will face political problems that will haunt you for 20 years." De Gaulle was advising Abba Eban, not threatening him.

Dr al-Zayyat added: My position was, and still is, that peace should be accomplished within the framework of the United Nations, its charter, and its resolutions. That would have distanced the Arabs from the international ideological conflict. I resigned from foreign affairs in 1973 and remained an advisor to the president of the republic until early in 1975.

[Question] You took part in the activities of the second meeting of the "follow-up organization of the International Conference on the Impact of Gulf War on International Peace and Security," which was held in London on 24 November 1986. What is your evaluation of that meeting?

[Answer] I am sorry that there were second and third meetings, which meant that the war was continuing. It is a strange war, the least of whose consequences is that Iraq and Iran will both need huge funds for reconstruction, not to mention the large sums spent on the war and armaments. Both must resort to borrowing. It is a problem that has plagued Egypt and most countries of the Third World.

Loans mean interest and profits for the lender. The borrower will be required to repay the loan and may have to supply industrial nations with cheap oil, especially when interest compounds. In short, the result will be to condemn the nation to poverty, lack of development, and fragmentation. War destroys the present and destroys the future.

[Question] Do you see an end to the Gulf war?

[Answer] How? The war not only is between two nations or two parties but also involves arms dealers. The money collected from arms sales to Iran is used in Nicaragua and the question now is: How many middlemen were involved?

Mussolini once expressed an opinion on such secret deals. He said that hands involved in secret deals are like dough, something will no doubt stick to them! How many middlemen were involved in the Iran arms deal and how much stuck to their hands?

EGYPT

BRIEFS

SUPPLIES REPORTEDLY AIRLIFTED TO IRAQ--Kuwait, 13 Jan (KUNA)--Sources at the Egyptian Defense Ministry disclosed that a six-member delegation from the Egyptian staff command arrived at Baghdad last Saturday, a local paper said here Tuesday. Daily AL RAY' AL-AAM quoted the sources as saying that head of the Egyptian staff command General Ibrahim al-Arabi, made a brief visit to Baghdad last Sunday at a time a military airlift between Cairo and Baghdad went into operation. Large quantities of weapons and ammunitions were delivered through the airlift that started 3 days ago, AL RAY' AL-AAM said in dispatch datelined Cairo. The sources pointed out that a hotline between the two capitals was installed since the start of the latest Iranian attack. [Text] [Kuwait KUNA in English 0808 GMT 13 Jan 87] /9599

CEASE-FIRE IN AFGHANISTAN APPLAUDED--Cairo, 15 Jan (MENA)--AL-AKHBAR has emphasized that reports on the cease-fire between pro-Soviet Afghan Government troops and the Afghan Mujahedin, announced by Afghan President [as received] Najibullah, indicate that the Soviets and their puppet regime in Afghanistan have at last given way to the Afghan people's will. The Afghan people, the paper adds, have rejected submission to occupation, refused to be dictated to by anyone, and fought a heroic battle to save their country from the red forces of invasion. In its editorial to appear on Friday, the paper points out that news of the cease-fire has pleased Muslims throughout the Islamic world, as it heralds the beginning of the end of the Afghan people's 7 years of suffering under Soviet occupation, and also prepared the ground for talks to settle the Afghan issue. The paper goes on to say: Now it only remains for the Soviet troops to withdraw completely from Afghanistan. When that day comes, it will be a victory for freedom and free men everywhere, the paper concludes. [Text] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 2200 GMT 15 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 4500/53

## NEW INVESTMENT BY ARAB DEVELOPMENT FUNDS

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 7-13 Jan 87 p 7

[Article: "AL-MAJALLAH Reports Bumper Crops in Sudan and Resumption of Development Loans"]

[Text] It is expected that Arab development funds will meet around the middle of this month in Abu Dhabi to discuss a number of issues, among which is the dealing between these funds and Sudan. These funds which were attracted to the Sudan during the last two decades, as an investment pull region stopped dealing with it due to the problems which accompanied the implementation of several projects. This situation was exacerbated by the political and economic deterioration that befell Sudan as a result of the corruption and political mistakes which were associated with the previous regime forcing the funds to ask Khartoum to produce a certificate from the International Monetary Fund concerning its economic conditions before granting their loans to Sudan.

After the change, which occurred in Sudan in the spring of 1985, Saudi Arabia adopted the issue of inviting the Arab funds to resume offering their loans to Sudan once more. Indeed, the Saudi Development Fund hosted the first meeting of these funds in Riyadh at the end of the summer of 1985. Last year, the funds lifted the embargo and granted the sum of \$170 million from the Saudi Fund, the Kuwaiti Fund, the Arab Economic and Social Development Fund, the Islamic Development Bank and the OPEC Fund. The money was used in several fundamental building projects such as the rehabilitation of the sugar projects and the al-Jazirah agricultural project, irrigation networks, water and electricity projects in Khartoum, the national capital.

Available information indicates that the above-mentioned five funds, besides the Abu Dhabi Fund, have extended over two decades, loans totaling \$867 million, of which \$637.43 million were withdrawn (see the table). The Kuwaiti Fund was the first to extend loans to the Sudan. Its early offer in this area started in 1962 to support the railways. The Kuwaiti Fund was also the first to stop extending loans. The last loan offered was in the beginning of 1980 for the Rahad agricultural project. It has no agreed-upon operations and no withdrawals have started, as is the case with the Arab Economic and Social Development which has eight agreements totaling \$105.69 million with no withdrawals. The agreements relate to important projects

Table Showing the Lending Operations of the Arab Funds and  
International Organizations to Sudan  
(in million dollars)

Lending organization	Finished operations	Semifinished operations		Operations under implementation		Operations agreed upon but no withdrawal		Total	
		Amount	With- drawn	Amount	With- drawn	Amount	With- drawn	Amount	With- drawn
Saudi Development Fund (75-1984)	26.04	123.04	104.14	12	3.75	26.23	-	187.31	133.93
Kuwaiti Development Fund (62-80)	89.09	48.6	41.7	52.67	31.30	-	-	190.36	162.18
Abu Dhabi Fund (76-77)	-	25.43	22.54	10.25	9.32	-	-	35.68	31.86
Arab Fund Economic Development (74-84)	63.06	15.17	14.86	55.07	30.88	105.69	-	238.99	108.8
Islamic Development Bank (77-80)	136.56	12.5	9.2	3.5	1	-	-	152.56	146.76
OPEC Fund (76-84)	53.59	-	-	-	-	8.2	-	62.1	53.9

such as the rehabilitation of the sugar projects, the al-Jazirah project and the cable and wireless communications project.

Last month, the funds met in Riyadh. According to the statements issued, the meeting discussed extending the loans for some projects following the explanation presented by the Sudanese minister of finance, Dr Bashir Omar, regarding the new Sudanese policy in the economic sector. An agreement was reached to concentrate the discussions in the Abu Dhabi meeting on the evaluation of the funds' position regarding financing operations in Sudan, the reformulation of the projects submitted for financing, and presenting them in the form of priorities according to a common conceptualization by a technical Sudanese committee and a committee from the funds.

The lifting of the embargo on the funds' dealings with Sudan represents a powerful push forward for the new regime in Sudan. This position was enhanced by the bountiful agricultural season witnessed by Sudan and which has not been preceded for more than 30 years. As a result, the Sudanese production of corn, e.g., reached 5 million tons, half of which was earmarked for local consumption, and for putting aside a strategic reserve for the future, while the rest was earmarked for export. The production of beans reached 600,000 tons, sesame 350,000 tons, and it is expected that the production of gum arabic will reach 60,000 tons versus 14,000 tons last year.

The idea is that the government launches a massive campaign to export these surpluses, and to authorize a barter system with governments and companies to export these products provided that Sudan imports, in return, some of its requirements of strategic and manufactured commodities that it needs. Actually, there are preliminary agreements with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Italy, Iran, Holland, and others waiting for the conclusion of this system of equivalent trades which, if successful, will contribute to restoring to Sudan several of the markets which it lost in the past.

As a result of the record production this season, the government has decided to stop the various rescue operations especially in northern Sudan and to intensify the harvesting campaign and the gathering of the crops. The Rescue Mission has mentioned in a report that the various international organizations spend about \$100 million on rescue operations and that the orientation must be transferred to the areas of development and rehabilitation after the cessation of the emergency stage.

12655/6091  
CSO: 4504/97

# POPULAR UNITY PARTY CONFERENCE RESULTS

Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 19 Dec 86 p 2

[Text] The Popular Unity Party, in a communique addressed to us, announced that the first national conference of the Popular Unity Party has been held under the slogan "For Focusing a Multi-party Political System." According to the communique, the conference was attended by delegates representing the party's cells and universities.

Below is the rest of the press communique:

During the first session, the conferees heard a report from the Political Bureau presented by brother Mohamed Bel Hadj Amor. In this report, brother Bel Madj discussed the stages through which the party has gone since its establishment, its activities, positions, and analyses of situations. The presentation was followed by a comprehensive and lengthy discussion in which the majority of attendees took part. Basically, they expressed the need to reinforce the presence of the party structurally and expedite the completion of the economic and social program within the framework of the party's ideological and political orientation.

Four specialized committees were then formed. These include the General Policy Committee, the party's Charter Committee, the Ideological Style Committee, and the Committee for a popular Freedoms Charter. The four committees were then given the task of drafting laws and statutes. On the following day those documents were presented to the conferees to discuss, make modifications if necessary, and ratify.

The general policy statute defined the features of a national rescue program based on the urgent need to purge the political climate. This would be achieved by immediately discontinuing all harassment or suppression of freedom fighters and issuing a general amnesty order. The program also calls for combating misconduct and bribery in a sweeping fashion and with no exception and underscores the inevitability of endorsing popular choices by adopting a national policy to rid the country of subservience and acknowledge the importance of involving the production forces in making choices and overseeing their implementation. This was followed by the election of the central council which comprises 25 members. The council, in turn, met to elect the nine members of the Political Bureau. The council then renewed its confidence in

brother Mohamed Bel Hadj Amor by unanimously electing him secretary general of the Popular Unity Party.

Below is the list of the nine members of the Political Bureau:

1. Mohamed Bel Hadj Amor
2. Mohamed Daoud
3. Mounir Kachoukh
4. Djelloul Azouna
5. Mohamed Bouchiha
6. Hedi Noubbigh
7. Nasr Ben Ameer
8. Mongi Chaabane
9. Mohamed Miladi

The Popular Unity Party also issued the general political statutes which analyzed the general political situation in the country and the party's choices in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields. The statutes also explained the party's conception of how to overcome the current crisis.

13257/12859  
CSO: 4504/90

## BRIEFS

**MESTIRI MEETS WITH FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES**--Brother Ahmed Mestiri has met in the past few weeks with a number of accredited ambassadors to Tunisia. He also received in the Movement of Socialist Democrats [MDS] headquarters a number of delegations, including representatives from the U.S. Congress and the Canadian House of Representatives. Delegates from other parties also paid a visit to brother Ahmed Mestiri after he resumed his activities as leader of the Movement of Socialist Democrats. Of special importance was the visit of brother Abderrahmane Youssefi, a member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Union People's Forces in Morocco. In his capacity as secretary general of the Movement of Socialist Democrats, brother Mestiri received invitations to visit a number of sisterly and friendly countries. [Text] [Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 19 Dec 86 p 2] 13257/12859

**MDS MEMBER RECEIVES CUBAN AMBASSADOR**--Brother Dali Jazi, a member of the MDS Political Bureau in charge of foreign relations, yesterday received his excellency the ambassador of Cuba to Tunisia, who came to MDS headquarters on a courtesy visit. [Text] [Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 19 Dec 86 p 2] 13257

**MDS'S PRESENCE OVERSEAS**--Our movement distinguishes itself by being very active in some of the most important political and intellectual meetings and conventions in the Mediterranean region. Hardly a month passes without a delegation from the movement going abroad to expound our views on current issues. This is done because of the importance attached by others to the Movement of Socialist Democrats and to the seriousness of its participation in international forums. In the past few weeks brother Dali Jazi, a member of the Political Bureau, flew to Paris in response to an invitation from the French Socialist Party to attend a seminar on "Religion and Politics." Brother Jazi then proceeded to Rome at the invitation of the Higher International Institute of Criminology in Italy to attend a seminar for Arab experts in human rights. Participants were to draft an Arab charter on human rights. Meanwhile, Mohamed Moadda, a member of the Political Bureau, retrieved his passport following his recent publicized trip to Tripoli, where he conferred with Col Mu'amar al-Qaddhdhafi. As soon as he received his passport, brother Mohamed Moadda took off again, this time accompanied by Mohamed Barkia, secretary general of Sfax University, which is an affiliate of our movement, in response to an invitation to attend a symposium organized by the Center for Economic and Social Studies in Athens. The symposium debated the issue of liberation, or, to be more precise, terrorism vis-a-vis the liberation movement, with the participation of organizations from the world over, including Arab organizations of course. Brother Moadda's topic centered on the concept of terrorism. [Text] [Tunis AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 19 Dec 86 p 2] 13257/12859

## ISRAEL

### BRIEFS

TREMOR IN NORTH--A slight tremor was felt in northern Israel at noon. There were no casualties and no damage was caused. The Energy Ministry's seismological department says the tremor registered 4.7 on the Richter scale. Our correspondent Elihu Ben-on says the epicenter of the tremor was in the Rosh Haniqra area. It has been reported from Cyprus that a tremor also occurred in Nicosia and several buildings were felt moving. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 15 Jan 87] /9599

WEST BANK WATER SUPPLY--The water system of central Samaria has been linked up with the national water carrier, which supplies most of the water to central Israel and the Negev. This was revealed here on Friday by the managing director of the national water company, Mekorot, Yehezqel Zakay. He said that the connection by means of a 16 inch pipe has recently been completed. Work was proceeding on a central control station at Ari'el. The system will remove the dependence of settlements in central Samaria on local wells. The central Samaria water system supplied two and a half million cu.m. of water to Jewish settlements last year, including the towns of Ari'el and 'Immanu'el, and half a million cu.m. to 16 Arab villages. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 18 Jan 87 p 4 TA] /9599

COAL PURCHASE FROM PRC, POLAND--The national coal company has no intention of purchasing coal from the PRC. However, this position might change if the PRC company approaches its Israeli counterpart and makes possible a direct sale of coal from China, without intervention of middlemen. This was reported in COAL NEWS, a company publication. The purchase of coal from the PRC was made conditional on suitability to the Hadera power plant's requirements and on the price per ton (including insurance and shipment costs) being reasonable. The publication also reports that representatives of the coal company recently held their third meeting in Vienna with the directors of the Polish national coal company to discuss a trial shipment of 60,000 tons of coal from Poland. The problems that cropped up were resolved, except for the issue of the price, which seemed too high. If the Polish deal is signed, it will be on a barter basis: Poland will purchase Israeli goods worth 50 percent of the value of each coal shipment. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 Jan 87 p 4] /9599

1986 DRUG CONSUMPTION--Israeli Labor and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Qatzav says drug abuse in Israel last year killed 50 Israelis and disabled 3,000.

Official sources add that about 200,000 Israelis have used drugs at least once, while about 10,000 are addicted to hard drugs. "Soft" drugs such as hashish are also used within the IDF. [Summary] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Jan 87 p 4 TA] /9599

ISRAELI-SPANISH AGREEMENT--A protocol for Israeli-Spanish cooperation in the fields of culture, science, tourism, and agriculture was signed yesterday in Madrid between Spain and Israel. The director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Avraham Tamir, signed on behalf of Israel while a senior Spanish Foreign Affairs Ministry official signed on behalf of Spain. During his forthcoming visit to Spain, Israeli Education Minister Navon will sign a cultural operation pact between Israel and Spain. [Summary] [Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 22 Jan 87 p 2 TA] /9599

NEW JERICHO TELEPHONE EXCHANGE--A new telephone exchange that will allow direct international dialing was inaugurated in Jericho today. The communications minister has promised that such facilities will also be installed in Janin and Tulkarm by the end of 1987. [Summary] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 26 Jan 87 TA] /9599

CHILEAN TENDER WON--The Telrad Company has won an international tender put out by the Chilean Government for the establishment of a numerical telephone exchange network worth, in its first stage, more than \$15 million. Yisra'el Zamir, the company's director general, said that 2 years ago the company won a similar tender in Burma and has also just signed a large export deal with the United States. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 26 Jan 87 TA] /9599

1986 SOVIET EMIGRATION STATISTICS--1986 was the all-time low record year for Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and for Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel. Of the 904 Jews who left the Soviet Union last year, only 201 came to Israel. [Excerpt] [Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 27 Jan 87 p 1 TA] /9599

CSO: 4400/121

## BRIEFS

STOCK EXCHANGE PERFORMANCE IMPROVES--Turnover on the Amman Financial Market (AFM-stock exchange) rose in 1986, but prices declined, general manager Hashem Sabbagh says. "Despite the price fall, the performance was one of the best in the market's nine-year history, thanks to various government steps to revive the economy. We expect the 1986 momentum to continue," he said. Turnover totalled JD 69.6 million (\$203 million)--up from JD 67 million (\$195 million) in 1985, but still less than half the 1983 peak of JD 141.4 million (\$412 million). The number of shares traded totalled 48.9 million, almost 24 percent more than the previous year; the number of contracts concluded rose by 20.7 percent, to 68,362 (MEED 18:1:86). [Text] [London MEED in English 10 Jan 87 p 11] /9317

1986 CURRENCY RESERVES--Gold and foreign currency reserves at the Central Bank of Jordan rose to JD 401 million (\$1,168 million) in 1986 compared with JD 375 million (\$1,093 million) the previous year. The increase brought total reserves of gold and hard currency to JD 815 million (\$2,374.7 million), against JD 781 million (\$2,275 million) from the year before, bank governor Hussain al-Qassem says. He attributes the rise to a JD 139 million (\$405 million) reduction in the trade deficit. Remittances from expatriate workers recovered to JD 435 million (\$1,268 million), from JD 403 million (\$1,174 million) in 1985, he said. [Text] [London MEED in English 10 Jan 87 p 11] /9317

CSO: 4400/118

## BANKS URGED TO SETTLE DEBTS

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 13 Jan 87 p 10

[Text]

THE governor of Kuwait's Central Bank, Sheikh Salem Abdul Aziz Al Sabah, said yesterday that the Central Bank will run local banks which fail to carry out the programme for settling difficult debts with debtors.

He stressed that the Central Bank will be obliged to run these banks instead of their directors in order to carry out the programme, adding that the government was "serious" about ending the debts problem as soon as possible.

He expected that "positive steps" to carry out the programme would appear this month.

**Ability**

The programme was praised by the central banks of several countries, including the United States, France and Holland, he told Al Watan newspaper. Sheikh Salem said that local banks were required to hurry in carrying out the programme because of problems in their technical ability. He said that 76.6 percent of debtors who received loans from local banks had visited the banks by the end of last month to settle their problems and reschedule their debts. This showed that response to the programme was "very strong," he said, pointing out that 78 percent of the debtors who responded to the calls of banks had

submitted statements about their financial positions until the end of 1986, and this covers 70 percent of the total loans granted by the bank. He said that some small and big debtors had not submitted these statements yet, and this gave banks the right to start legal proceedings against them.

The governor said that the programme to settle debts was prepared by the staff of the Central Bank and they did not get help from foreign experts for this purpose.

He said the Central Bank instructed local banks to legalise the membership of their boards. He added that according to the Central Bank law, a director of any local bank should not have been sentenced by a court for committing crimes related to honour and honesty or have been bankrupt. The directors should also not be debtors who rejected repaying their debts to the banks. Banks were given until next month to legalise the situation of their board of directors according to these conditions.

Sheikh Salem said he was "very satisfied" with the situation of local banks and optimistic about their success in carrying out the programme to settle difficult debts.

He said there was great liquidity in the Kuwaiti market, but he was not happy when the liquidity went "beyond reasonable limits" because this implied insufficient investment opportunities. He added that investment opportunities concentrated in real estate and the stock market sectors only.

He said that if these surplus amounts could not be invested in Kuwait, then people would find opportunities to invest in foreign countries, but added that this was "very difficult and dangerous at present" because of changes in exchange rates.

### **Investment**

He said the expanding the investment base in the local market was the "main solution" for this problem, and this expansion should be concentrated in services and financial activities, such as shares and issuing and dealing in bonds.

He said the Central Bank could follow many methods to limit the outflow of capital, such as putting some restrictions on the price of currencies, buying surplus US dollars from local banks or withdrawing Kuwaiti dinars from the banks.

He said that the Central Bank was now taking all surplus funds in the local market, and not permitting more than a certain amount of money in the local market in order not to allow capital to go out of the country.

/9317

CSO: 4400/105

KEY INTEREST RATES REDUCED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 14 Jan 87 p 10

[Text]

KUWAIT yesterday cut one of its key interest rates by half a point in a widely anticipated move to bring them more in line with those in the United States.

Bankers saw the move as signalling a similar reduction by commercial banks.

The Central Bank reduced its intervention rate in the domestic money market to 6½ percent, although this still leaves it nearly half a point above US levels.

Kuwait bases its exchange rate for the dinar on a basket of currencies. The exact composition has not been revealed but it is heavily weighted in favour of the dollar.

The intervention rate, last cut in November, dictates the price

the Central Bank will pay for one-week to one-year funds from commercial banks and acts as an effective floor for interest rates.

Bankers said the Central Bank had probably held back from a bigger cut to prevent an outflow of capital from Kuwait to take advantage of higher rates abroad.

"If you're going to ask whether we will now see some money leaving the country, I think the answer is probably not ... if anything the cut may be a bit conservative," said one banker.

Interest rates on domestic interbank deposits fell abruptly in sporadic trading when the Central Bank rates were reduced.

/9317

CSO: 4400/105

## USE OF SOLAR ENERGY DISCUSSED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 8-9 Jan 87 p 4

[Text]

SOLAR energy is not a total substitute for oil, said the Energy Circulation Manager at the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research (Fisr), Dr Adnan Al Homood, in an interview with Al-Rai Al-Aam newspaper recently. But the use of solar energy will help to decrease the wast of petroleum and dependence on oil, he said. The use of solar air-conditioning is not practical in the Gulf because of its high cost, compared to low electricity prices. However, he said that the Permanent Arab Committee for Energy is continuing its work to support Arab co-operation in the energy field.

Studies and experiments in solar energy started in 1976, with work concentrating on air-conditioners and freezers, as they formed the highest rate of energy consumption in Kuwait. Seventy percent of electricity consumption goes on air-conditioners due to the hot weather.

**Test**

The first experiments were made on ready-made houses and then in 1978 a 'solar house' was built to use as a laboratory to test and evalute solar air-conditioning systems.

Solar cooling is done through 'suction units', water is pumped into solar complexes where the sun hears it, the heat is then used as energy to activate the suction cooling circulation.

Al Homood said that a cooling and heating project using solar energy is being operated at Saqer Al Roshood kindergarten, and in the engineering construction building at the Defence Ministry.

He said that there are two methods of producing electricity from solar energy, the first converts solar energy into electricity directly, using light cells, the second is indirectly, by using steam to turn 'turbines'. Practical production of electricity is possible, he said, and an experimental plant in Salaibia was producing 100 kws, which was a start for future development, he said.

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CSO: 4400/105

ISLAMIC JIHAD THREATENS ICO SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS

NC161450 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 16 Jan 87

[Text] Beirut, 16 Jan (AFP)--The Lebanese extremist group Islamic Jihad Friday warned it would carry out reprisals against participants in a summit meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) scheduled to open 26 January in Kuwait.

In a communique delivered to foreign news agencies here Islamic Jihad said that "if the Islamic summit takes place in Kuwait, it will take action against the participants, beginning with the leaders of Kuwait."

Iran has protested the choice of Kuwait, arguing that the Kuwaiti Government has supported Iraq in the Gulf War, and has repeatedly urged that the gathering be transferred to a new venue. But Tehran has yet to announce officially whether or not it will attend.

The statement Friday was accompanied by a photograph of an American hostage, Terry Anderson, the--Associated Press News Agency's--chief Middle East correspondent who was kidnapped by Islamic Jihad in Beirut on 16 March 1985.

The group cited the expected presence at the summit of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, King Hassan II of Morocco and President Amin al-Jumayyil of Lebanon to justify its threats.

"The choice of Kuwait as a venue for the meeting consecrates imperialist tutelage and is an insult to Islamic militants imprisoned in that country."

Seventeen people accused of a series of attacks in Kuwait, notably against the U.S. and French Embassies on 24 October, 1985, are currently being held in a Kuwaiti prison.

Another underground organization, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement, on Monday threatened to "turn Kuwait into a tomb" for most of the Islamic leaders attending the IOC summit there.

The movement had claimed responsibility here for the hijacking 25 December of an Iraqi Airways jet, which later crash landed at an airport in Saudi Arabia killing 61 people.

/9274

CSO: 4400/117

BEIRUT FRIDAY PRAYER LEADER CONDEMNS MURPHY TOUR

LD171833 Tehran IRNA in English 1510 GMT 17 Jan 87

[Text] Beirut, 17 Jan (IRNA)--U.S. envoy Richard Murphy's visit to the region was not aimed at finding a solution to the Palestinian crisis but rather turn the tide of the Islamic revolution in the region, said Allameh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah in Beirut Friday prayer sermons.

Fadlallah also pointed to the compromising attitudes of reactionary Arab heads of state and described their efforts as a step to realize the U.S. goals in the region.

He said some Arab heads of state try to eradicate the Palestinian cause and intend to take steps in line with the Zionist regime. They succeeded in destroying half of the Palestinian cause before 1982 and now they want to uproot the other half, he added.

Only the Muslim forces in Iran, Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine are engaged in fighting to liberate Palestine from the Zionist regime, the prominent Lebanese Alim noted.

In his sermon Fadlallah expressed support for the Iranian peace plan to end the camps war and said Islamic Iran endeavors to protect Muslims from international warfare.

He also criticized the Arab League for pursuing a compromising trend which he said paved the way for the fulfillment of U.S. plans for the region.

/9274

CSO: 4400/117

LEBANESE-SYRIAN SUMMIT TO BE HELD 19 OR 20 JANUARY

NC172058 Paris AFP in English 2041 GMT 17 Jan 87

[Text] Beirut, 17 Jan (AFP)--Presidents Amin al-Jumayyil of Lebanon and Hafiz al-Asad of Syria will meet next Monday or Tuesday for their first summit in a year, sources close to Lebanon's Christian leadership said Saturday.

Ennissaries from Mr al-Jumayyil will go to Damascus on Sunday, for the fourth time since the start of the year, to finalise the date for the meeting and brief Syrian leaders on a so-called "Christian summit," in which Lebanese Christian leaders Saturday discussed the country's political future, they said,

Mr al-Jumayyil and Mr al-Asad fell out during their last summing on 13-14 January 1986.

The Lebanese president had refused to ratify a Syrian-sponsored accord that would have reduced the powers of the Christian-held presidency in favour of the Moslem community, and at the same time tightened Lebanon's ties with Syria.

The "Christian summit" was held Saturday at Smar Jubayl, 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of here, between Mr al-Jumayyil and three presidential predecessors, Camille Sham'un, Charles Hlu and Sulayman Franjiyah, who has been a close rival to Mr al-Jumayyil.

No statement was issued at the end of the "summit." But sources close to the talks said the four had agreed to the two disputed points of the Syrian-backed accord, signed on 28 December 1985 by representatives of the chief Druze, Shiite and Christian militias.

/9274

CSO: 4400/117

LEBANON

BRIEFS

AMAL DENOUNCES HOSTILITY AGAINST FOREIGNERS--The Amal Movement's Foreign Relations Bureau has denounced the acts of violence that have been perpetrated against foreigners in Lebanon. It said that all the criminal actions that are taking place in the arena are aimed at undermining the expected Lebanese-Syrian summit. It warned all those who tarnish the image of the homeland and its people that the Lebanese will deal with them mercilessly. [Text] [Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 17 Jan 87 NC] /9274

CSO: 4400/117

OIL MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON POLICY ISSUES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 12 Dec 86 pp 60-61

[Interview with Sa'id al-Shanfari by Amin al-Siba'i; Muscat, date not specified]

[Text] During the period of the 16th national holiday the Sultanate of Oman celebrated the start-up of production of the Nimr field, which has a daily output of 90,000 barrels.

The opening of the Omani oil field coincided with OPEC's move toward increasing the price of a barrel of oil to \$18. It came after developments that led to the dismissal of Ahmad Zaki al-Yamani from his post as Saudi oil minister and after attempts to reunify the oil-producing states and save OPEC from possible disintegration and collapse under the pressure of the sharp differences of opinion that swirl over the question of prices and production quotas.

These developments also coincided with the appearance of several studies which affirm that oil will gradually lead to price control and abandonment of the policy of glutting the market with oil at low prices. A study by the International Energy Agency, which includes the western industrial countries and Japan, expects the price of oil to rise to between \$30 and \$42 a barrel in the year 2000 and that the oil requirements of the agency will increase from 3.9 billion tons in 1990 to 4.49 billion tons in 2000. In 2000 the world will need 53.6 barrels a day, with OPEC's share amounting to 20.3 million barrels a day in 1990 and 26.6 million in 2000.

In view of these local, regional, and international developments concerning oil, AL HAWADITH asked Minister of Petroleum and Minerals Sa'id ibn Ahmad al-Shanfari a number of questions regarding Oman's oil policy and the international situation. We did so after OPEC's price committee set a price of \$18 a barrel and Oman's daily production after the opening of the Nimr field was boosted.

We said to Minister al-Shanfari: "We are interviewing you only hours after OPEC moved to raise oil prices. How do you view this move?"

The minister said: "There is no doubt that the Sultanate of Oman, which is not a member of OPEC, is affected by any decision taken by the OPEC states because we share common goals, especially in the Gulf region. We must cooperate

on all fronts in order to reach our goals. We in the Sultanate, in accordance with the instructions of His Majesty Sultan Qabus, support His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-Aziz and his move to set a price of \$18 a barrel. We believe it to be a reasonable price for both sides, the producer and the consumer.

As for the manner of determining and applying the increase, it is up to the organization. We believe that everyone clearly intended to strengthen OPEC's unity after it nearly collapsed last year.

Question: Why is the Sultanate of Oman still not a member of OPEC?

Answer: Every minister has a story and the existence of man is a story in itself. Before 1970 the sultanate was in a deep sleep. When Sultant al-Qabus took power, oil was looked at pessimistically. He thought that Oman had to make its voice heard by the world in every gathering by what it offers the people and the logic of development and the modern age in the way of achievement in all fields.

After Oman's prospects indicated that it would be unable to produce more than 100,000 barrels a day and that its oil would soon be exhausted, it succeeded in replacing this pessimistic view with actions that led to our being able to produce 600,000 barrels a day before it was decided to lower the daily production level to 560,000 barrels.

Because we devoted ourselves to strengthening production and development, we did not join OPEC. However, recent important developments have recently taken place, most significantly the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) that may lead to major changes in areas of cooperation between the Gulf oil-producing states and other states.

Question: What kind of developments are they?

Answer: Oman is one of the Gulf states that participate in the GCC. There will come a day when it will be decided that the six member states are to be represented in OPEC by one state. Oman will therefore be represented in OPEC like the others.

Question: So the question of your actually joining OPEC is moot?

Answer: Increasing the number of OPEC member states is not important. As long as we cooperate within the GCC framework, there is no urgent reason for actually joining the organization. At any late support OPEC and support its existence, which we regard as essential and important for the oil-exporting states.

Question: It is said that the price increase must be accompanied by a comprehensive agreement to limit the rate of production. The commitment to such an agreement is necessary, although it is one of the major obstacles created by the disputes between the producer states. What is your opinion on this matter?

Answer: The oil market still has to contend with the large quantities available for sale. Raising the price of a barrel to \$18 will require taking steps to regulate supply and demand. I believe its price will reach the desired level when the excess oil is squeezed out of the market, even though the price has risen despite the glut. Prior to the last OPEC meeting the price was close to \$8 or \$9 and confidence in OPEC had dwindled. However, after the OPEC countries reached an agreement, the price jumped again to \$14. I believe that OPEC unity and solidarity is essential for achieving production and price stability. The committee must agree on a solution to the glut problem.

Question: There is talk of decisions taken to lower the production rates among the OPEC states.

Answer: Winter is coming and consumption will increase. This will help to shrink the glut.

Question: Have the price-production wars affected Oman's development plans?

Answer: The 5-year plan was based on the Sultanate's producing 560,000 barrels a day at \$15 per barrel. Naturally, if the price rises above that previously estimated, it will help us more in the field of development and improve our welfare.

Question: What is the scope of the oil plan within Oman's development plans?

Answer: There are many oil pockets in the Sultanate of Oman. Future generations may be luckier than ours with respect to oil production, prices, and revenues. Yesterday we opened the Nimr field which produces heavy oil. It is one of our largest fields and covers an area of 300 square meters. It requires drilling between 1400 and 3000 square meters. It requires drilling between 1400 and 3000 wells that will yield 90,000 barrels a day. Many other fields will soon be developed. We modified our plan in this regard after the decline in prices and postponed the opening of some fields. We therefore cut about \$2.5 billion from the operations of the Oman Oil Development Company in anticipation of a change in the situation and circumstances. We also have about 12 small fields awaiting development.

Question: How large are Oman's oil reserves?

Answer: 4.5 billion barrels.

Question: Is limiting the quantities of oil you produce something to be coordinated with the producing countries or are there difficulties in production, capacity, and marketing?

Answer: Disposal of the oil is not a problem. The Sultanate can produce 60,000 to 650,000 barrels a day. However, we do cooperate with the producing states which require us to coordinate with them while awaiting suitable marketing conditions.

The sultan has been following a wise policy in cooperating with the other states. The non-OPEC states must assume equal responsibility with OPEC for solving all the problems.

Question: What are the limits of your cooperation with foreign companies in producing oil today?

Answer: The existing agreements vary from company to company. Cooperation with the companies is based primarily on our interests and on the importance of the fields. We get most of the revenues produced by oil.

Question: The return to higher prices will lead to a boost in the price of the goods produced by the industrial countries. Does anyone expect a price war between the oil-producing and industrial countries?

Answer: We GCC countries are cautiously continuing our talks with the industrial countries to ensure mutual understanding on joint limits to prevent price wars. However, the matter is still under discussion and it will take a long time to resolve.

The industrial countries always blame the producing countries, although the price of a barrel of oil today is relatively much lower than the prices of industrial goods. The price of oil has come down but not that of manufactured goods, and the reasons are many. One reason is that there is good coordination and planning among industrial nations; I am not aware of such coordination existing among us.

When the price of a barrel rose to \$40, the industrial countries rushed to adopt a "strategic reserve" policy and raised the prices of their manufactured goods, but the oil-producing countries failed to adopt a counter-strategy. These countries are in debt and they are faced with many demands. They have no alternative to oil. Hence, they are at the mercy of the decisions made by the wealthy countries.

Question: It appears that the industrial countries' strategy is moving again in the direction of boosting prices.

Answer: There are many reasons for the collapse of oil prices, e.g., the discovery of oil in non-OPEC countries. The OPEC countries used to export 33 million barrels. The figure dropped to 14 million due to new discoveries and the use of nuclear power in many countries. France relies on nuclear power for 60 percent of its energy requirements. Britain does so for 25 percent. Therefore, oil consumption has dropped 55 percent. In Japan, for example, it was recently mentioned that 95 percent of the taxis use gas.

Question: Does this mean that oil will become a depreciating commodity?

Answer: Only if the price rises too high. But if it remains between \$15 and \$18 a barrel, it becomes more competitive than alternative energy sources such as soft coal. The price must settle down at the level indicated because a rise to \$25, for example, would induce the industrial countries to look for substitutes. This fact is of major concern to the Gulf states in particular, for they have large oil reserves. With this in mind, you can easily see that the states with large reserves made a terrible mistake when they allowed the price to rise to \$40. They realized it was a mistake and a danger, so they quickly tried to correct it.

We in the Sultanate of Oman believe a rise to \$40 a barrel would be in our interest because our production is comparatively low. However, the common interest impels us to call upon the oil-producing states with large reserves to agree to plans for keeping the price at \$18 to \$20 a barrel at most.

Question: Have you done any planning for the time when oil is exhausted?

Answer: Sultan Qabus does not rely totally on oil in his growth and development plans. Since 1970 we have been striving to employ oil revenues in fields that will take the place of oil such as industry, agriculture, marine resources (major natural wealth), and mining. We are hoping that the oil will not be exhausted until after the substitute production projects are completed. In my opinion, oil will remain our main source of income for the next one hundred years. I am certain that our reserves will increase day after day.

Question: Do you have any plan for creating a petrochemical industry?

Answer: We built an oil refinery to provide for our local needs until 1990. We have an abundance of gas, some of which we rely on for our local industries. We are always objective and do not exaggerate in working out our production policy. We do not believe that the markets can absorb petrochemical industries. Moreover, our gas reserves, which are adequate for 25 to 30 years, are insufficient for establishing such industries.

Question: How about heavy industries?

Answer: As directed by His Majesty Sultan Qabus, we are to strive for self-sufficiency in all our requirements. Heavy industries need raw materials, if they are not available, heavy industries become light industries. Therefore, we build industries that can depend on our own raw materials. In our opinion, some of the countries that established industries that need imported raw materials will experience great difficulties in this regard in addition to difficulties in competing with the goods produced by the major industrial countries.

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## BRIEFS

BELGIUM-LUXEMBOURG ECONOMIC UNION PACT--An economic-technological cooperation agreement was signed in Brussels yesterday between the Sultanate of Oman and the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union. The agreement was signed on behalf of the sultanate government by His Excellency Muhammad ibn Hasan, the sultanate's accredited ambassador to France and the nonresident accredited ambassador to Belgium. It was signed on behalf of the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union by his excellency the Belgian foreign minister who pointed to its importance. He hoped that the relations between the two countries and the spheres of cooperation between them will witness further development and will flourish. His excellency the sultanate's ambassador lauded the relations between the two friendly countries in all fields. [Text] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 10 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 4400/123

GOVERNOR DESCRIBES VARIOUS AL-KHARJ DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 21 Dec 86 p 11

[Interview with Shaykh Hammud Ibn 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shabib, Governor of al-Kharj Province: "The Governor of Al-Kharj in a Comprehensive Conversation with AL-RIYAD"]

[Text] The governor of al-Kharj Province, Shaykh Hammud Ibn 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Shabib, expressed his thanks and appreciation to His Royal Highness Prince Salman Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, governor of Riyadh Province, for the extreme attention and care his highness devotes to al-Kharj Province. In an interview with AL-RIYAD, the governor of al-Kharj said that there were well-being and welfare projects which had been listed in the 5-year plan through the followup of his noble highness, his highness had previously said that al-Kharj was the lungs of Riyadh and was considered a natural extension of it, and the committee of deputy ministers had prepared a plan for projects which would be carried out gradually.

His excellency the governor of al-Kharj went on to say, "The city of al-Kharj has its agricultural and industrial importance, that is, it is an economic region, since hundreds of farms for producing milk, dairy products and meat and egg-laying poultry have been spread out and have reached the level of self-sufficiency, indeed export to fraternal Arab countries. In addition, al-Kharj contains the largest agricultural project and has the first agricultural project the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God have mercy on him, established."

It Is an Important Industrial Area

The governor talked to AL-RIYAD. The first question was on the most important future plans and projects which are being listed in the plan.

He said, "The most important of the giant projects for which his royal highness the second deputy prime minister, minister of defense and aviation and the inspector general granted permits is the industrialization project. The presence of this facility makes it the third industrial region. There are giant projects on their way to appearing and they will be declared, God willing."

"Let me go back to industrialization and seize the opportunity, now that His Highness Prince Sultan Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz has been kind enough to give permits for industrialization and the manpower which will manage and operate this facility. It is an elite of the people of this nation which studied and developed itself and acquired modern technology in this factory, since we see men, and their sons with them, working side by side, since the fathers began work and continued their work, and their sons joined them, imitating the effects of their fathers. I, as a citizen, wonder why our media have not highlighted such examples.

"This is an elite of our fathers, brothers and sons. It is the only organization which grew up and in which the workers functioned until it was self sufficient through them, the workers, engineers and technicians. It is an elite, as his noble highness mentioned, of more than 400 individuals. I will direct an invitation to the media through the pages of your paper to underline this elite which has brought itself to prominence. They have a right to have all the media praise them and God willing they will be an example for our young people to assume the leadership of the construction and advancement of their country. Nothing exists among nations but the strength of their people."

#### The Sewer Project Is Close to Completion

[Question] In view of the great expansion in the new housing areas in the city of al-Kharj, the need for the presence of a sewer system for the city has been urgent. What stage has construction of the project reached?

[Answer] In reality, the presence of a sewer system has become a pressing need in order to cope with the great expansions in the city. With praise to God, the high commissioner's agreement to the construction of the sewer project and construction of two plants for purifying the sewers of the south of the city of al-Kharj was made awhile ago, the project has neared completion, and the two plants will be erected in Wadi Thulayma' over an area of 6 million square meters at a cost of 286 million riyals. A domestic organization is now constructing the project, and close to 15,000 household connections will be made. The sewer project is now in its final stages.

#### We Hope To Repair This Road

[Question] We have heard much about the efforts your excellency is exerting with the responsible bodies to expand the al-Khalidiyah-al-'Uyun-south road, which is called the Road of Death. Is there anything new concerning the start on the expansion of it, especially since the harvest of lives in accidents is increasing day by day?

[Answer] I will not comment on the al-'Uyun road, but I will reiterate my approach to the minister of transport and the deputy minister of transport, Dr Nasir al-Sallum, to the effect that they should set allocations aside for this road, on which many lives have been sacrificed and injuries in the hundreds have occurred.

## Monthly Meetings Jointly To Study the Province's Requirements

[Question] What results have the monthly meetings of the heads of government departments achieved?

[Answer] Coming together is considered a noble objective in itself and the departments are in the service of the citizens. Through them, we jointly study the province's requirements and we set out ideas on the construction and importance of projects, adopting the system of priorities and giving what is most important priority over what is important. We set down minutes on each meeting, they are presented to the competent bodies for discussion at higher levels, and from there the projects take their turn. One result of the meetings has been the creation of an intermediate college for girls, a department of education for girls, and another one for boys. There is also an intention to open an intermediate college for boys, and it will be opened soon, God willing. There are attempts to open a branch of the faculty of agriculture or an agricultural institute, and these efforts have gone far. There also has been criticism of some departments toward an improvement in their services.

## Al-Kharj Province Contains Important Archaeological Sites

[Question] The most important archaeological relics are in the province. Does a plan exist to restore and preserve them?

[Answer] The most important site that exists in the province is a noble residence in which His Majesty King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God grant him peaceful rest, lived and resided, called al-Qurmiyah, which is considered a prominent relic of civilization in the history of the city, in view of the architectural beauty and splendor of design and execution in it. The Department of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education has taken it over and I hope that his excellency the minister of education, Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir, will give attention to it, restore it and preserve it. In the province there are other antiquities such as those which are located in the eastern part of al-Yamamah, on which research and excavation activities are being carried out by the Antiquities Department in the Ministry of Education. There also are the palace of Abu Jaffan, which is situated east of al-Kharj, the al-Dalam tower, the palace of Sa'ud the Great in al-Hayathim and the facilities adjacent to the al-Kharj springs. There also are the antiquities of the aqueduct of Farzan and the remains of the town of Madan, and there is a plan on the part of the Ministry of Education to make the necessary repairs on it.

[Question] Agriculture and industry are among the most important foundations of the economic structure. Why hasn't an industrial area been established in al-Kharj? What is the share of al-Kharj Province's agricultural output relative to the kingdom?

[Answer] Industry can be ascribed to the serious intent of capital. In fact, al-Kharj has not enjoyed this sort of thing, especially since our upright government encourages, indeed supports industry now but the citizen has not yet participated.

## Agriculture and Its Importance in al-Kharj

With respect to agriculture and agricultural production, al-Kharj Province is considered the greatest of agricultural regions, especially since it produces 80 percent of the kingdom's output. Its production of poultry meat is estimated at about 60 percent of the output.

Wheat has retained its level; production is no less than 40 percent. There are a number of projects, for vegetables, fish and poultry for instance, which produce a substantial output.

## The Province Needs More Services

[Question] With the expansion in new construction in the residential areas, are the facilities available at present adequate to cope with the increase and great expansion in the city of al-Kharj?

[Answer] The fact is that the city has made a tremendous expansion and I believe that the existing facilities are inadequate and are in need of much. I am confident that the officials' attention to and conviction in the expansion of the city and the increase in facilities we need and all the services the kingdom's towns and villages need will be realized soon, with God's permission.

## Health Services Are Adequate

[Question] What is your excellency's view on the health services of al-Kharj Province, as you describe the province's future health plan?

[Answer] Health service in al-Kharj Province is adequate, praise be to God, especially since the new King Khalid Hospital in the al-Khalidiyah section in al-Kharj Province was inaugurated recently. The municipality is now concerned with grading the road for it in addition to the northern square so that that will be a parking area for visitors. The municipality, to the extent of its resources, is working to bring that about. These are not very great obstacles; the director of the hospital is most interested and His Highness Prince Salman Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz makes us confident God willing that Kharj will receive its share of development projects in full. Al-Kharj has 114,000 workers, on the basis of the latest statistics on al-Kharj permits.

## A Study of New Water Sources

[Question] What has been done about the new sections and the shortage of water in them?

[Answer] I am confident that officials are devoting their attention to that. There is a serious study of water sources for the province as a whole, and God willing everyone will be blessed with this important facility.

## I Hope the Private Sector Will Participate in Developing the City

[Question] Do the private organizations in the province have a role in beautifying the city?

[Answer] I hope that we can get some private organizations to take part in the future, since no organization has contributed to any service. This is true not just of the organizations of the people of the region but indeed the people benefitting from this province. We have not yet seen any participation on the part of any organization, and we hope for it in the future, in the context not just of companies and organizations but also of individuals. We call on them to take part in beautifying the city.

#### Expansion of the Entrances to Al-Kharj

The Ministry of Transportation will also expand the entrances to the city of al-Kharj, and that will be done soon, God willing. There is coordination between the governor's office and the municipality and the Ministry of Transportation to construct these entrances. The study on them has ended, and they will be done soon, with God's permission.

There is great hope for a number of new projects. Four underground pedestrian tunnels have been included in the projects of the municipality of al-Kharj for a total of 20 million riyals. Our view in the past was that traffic and congestion in al-Kharj had not reached the level of a need for tunnels, and we transferred this sum to the temporary paving projects.

#### We Welcome the Citizens' Opinions and Criticism of Us

[Question] What would you say in a statement of benefit to the people of al-Kharj?

[Answer] Let me send a good statement to my brothers the people of al-Kharj and hope that they will help us serve this province, which gives bounties and does not ask for compensation, with the greatest aid for every official which the word help, opinion, criticism and guidance entails.

May God preserve the servant of the two noble sanctuaries, King Fahd, and his honest crown prince, as a resource for our beloved kingdom. I also ask the almighty to preserve for us His Royal Highness Prince Salman, who is giving much of his attention to this province, and His Royal Highness Prince Satam, his deputy, who is helping him with his concerns.

11887

CSO: 4404/189

ARAB INVESTMENT COMPANY APPROVES PROJECTS, BUDGET

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 21 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Ahmad al-Shimr: "Approval of a Number of Arab Industrial Projects and the Arab Investment Company Budget"]

[Text] The deputy governor of the General Petroleum and Mineral Organization (Petromin), Mr Jamal Hasan Jawih, headed the fourth meeting of the board of directors of the Arab Petroleum Investment Corporation (Apicorp) for 1986. The meeting, which was held in the company's headquarters in al-Khubar and was attended by representatives of the state of the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Algeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah, Syria, Iraq, Qatar and Kuwait, in addition to the kingdom, dealt with the subjects included in the agenda. It adopted a decision to approve the company's estimated budget for 1987. The meeting also thoroughly studied the general activity report which included a presentation of the submission of joint and regional Arab projects under construction or subjected to study at present, including the joint Arab project bearing on the Arab Detergent Chemical Company (Aradet), in which the concerned organization in Iraq, the kingdom and Kuwait, the Arab Mining Company in Jordan, the Arab Investment Company in Riyadh and Apicorp are participating. It is expected the company will start test production of the active ingredient (the direct benzene chain) at the start of the coming year.

The company board, in addition to that, also reviewed progress in the Saudi European Petrochemical Company project (Ibn Zahr), in which the Saudi Basic Industries Company (SABIC), the Finnish company Neste OY and the Italian Inicom are participating alongside Apicorp and which is currently being built in the industrial city of al-Jubayl to produce the gasoline upgrading material MTBI; design activities and the equipment purchasing process are proceeding in a proper manner. The training of Saudi technicians and managers for this plant is also taking place, preparatory to the assumption of the tasks of managing and operating the plant upon conclusion of its construction. In addition, the board was informed of the course of the work underway in the Turkish Arab Chemical Fertilizer Production Company (Tajash) which was established at the start of this year, since work is now underway to sign contracts for the construction of various productive units in it, including nitrate ammonium lime fertilizer and diammonium phosphate

fertilizer. Arab parties, represented by the Petrochemical Industry Company in Kuwait, Apicorp, the Maghrib Chemical Industries Company in Tunisia and the Arab General Investment Company (Shu'a') in Dubai, are participating in this company. In addition, the Turkish party to it is represented by the Turkish Fertilizer Production Company (Tajash), the Mediterranean Fertilizer Company and the Taurus Fertilizer Industry Company. The board also was informed of the completion of the arrangement and coverage of underwriting for the loan submitted on behalf of the Algerian National Bank for \$250 million in cooperation with a group of Arab and international banks. The signing of the loan agreement was to have been completed on 19 December. A large part of it will be allocated to the financing of the National Electricity and Gas Organization (SONELGAZ) project to lay the gas pipeline between the sites of Hassi Rmel and Skikda, in addition to some SONATRACH projects to drill a number of additional wells to increase the flow of oil in Algeria. In another area, the company's board of directors is to hold its next meeting on 15 March 1987.

11887

CSO: 4404/188

SAUDI ARABIA

KING INAUGURATES NEW OIL PROJECTS IN ARAMCO AREA

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 23 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Yahya Abu Raddas and Muhammad al-Bassam: "As Part of His Inspection tour of the Eastern Province, The Servant of the Two Holy Shrines Has Inaugurated Three Oil Projects"]

[Text] In the context of the protector of the two holy shrines' inspection tour of the Eastern Province, he, may God preserve him, was so gracious as to inaugurate two large facilities in the oil processing field in Aramco and the Petromin-Shell refinery. Mr 'Ali Ibrahim al-Na'imi, the chairman of the Aramco company, expressed his happiness and that of the Aramco board of directors and its employees at the visit by the protector of the two holy shrines to Aramco, which, under his noble supervision, included the celebration of the inauguration of a citadel of training in advanced industrial maintenance skills in the company and also the inauguration of a massive project in the area of oil and oil products refining.

Al-Na'imi said, "This visit has great significance because of the interest of King Fahd, may God preserve him, in industrial and technical considerations and his ongoing interest in all achievements aimed at developing domestic industries and capable personnel on behalf of the realization of self-sufficiency. In addition, this visit bears lofty significance which it is worth recording, since it brings back to people's minds the historic visit His Majesty his father King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God grant him peaceful repose, made to Ras Tanura in May 1939 to celebrate the export of the first cargo of Saudi crude oil."

Al-Na'imi said, "The training center which the servant of the two holy shrines will be so gracious as to inaugurate represents one of the training centers Aramco cares for and it is an extension of the comprehensive training program in maintenance skills in the company aimed at supporting the industrial programs in Aramco and raising the competence of domestic manpower in the technical and occupational field."

He went on to say that the training programs Aramco supervises are not restricted to advanced industrial training but also include university studies and administrative technical training, and there are large numbers of Saudi

company employees who are now pursuing university studies inside and outside the kingdom in various scientific areas of specialization.

Concerning the project to modernize the refinery which the servant of the two holy shrines will also be so gracious as to inaugurate, al-Na'imi said, "This massive project is distinguished by competence and flexibility. It also provides the kingdom with a local source for the supply of naphtha, kerosene, diesel, jet fuel, fuel oil and asphalt, not to speak of the supply of additional quantities of sulphur for export purposes. This project includes a crude oil facility with a capacity of 250,000 barrels a day and another facility for sulphur production with a capacity of 300 tons a day. It is worth mentioning that the facilities of the sulphur plant at Ras Tanura are operated by Saudi personnel."

The chairman of the board of the Petromin refinery, Dr Faysal al-Bashir, also expressed the pride in the people belonging to the refinery at the supervision by the servant of the two holy shrines of the inauguration ceremony of the refinery, which is to be considered one of the fruits of his wise policy, may God preserve him.

He referred to the servant of the two holy shrines' guidelines bearing on the investment of the kingdom's money within its borders for the sake of realization of the maximum material and moral benefit, encouragement of oil processing within the kingdom and the avoidance of restriction to oil exports.

He said that the refinery project was a dream and has now become a fact, thanks to almighty God, then the support of the servant of the two holy shrines and sincere efforts on the part of the young people of this country, who bear the honor of the responsibility with full trust and honesty.

He added, "In a few years we have managed to attain advanced stages of production, which comes to 250,000 barrels a day," stating that that affirmed and proved that Saudi youths were able to bear their responsibility and raise the flag of the kingdom fluttering on high.

The appointed member and executive president of the Petromin-Shell refinery company, Eng Ma'tuq Hasan Jannah, also expressed his pride and appreciation and that of all the people working in the company at the supervision by the protector of the two holy shrines, King Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God preserve him, of the celebration of the inauguration of the Petromin-Shell refinery belonging to the General Petroleum and Mineral Organization, Petromin, in the industrial city of al-Jubayl today, Tuesday.

Eng Ma'tuq Jannah said that the supervision by the leader of this good journey of the celebration of the inauguration of the refinery, which is considered one of the newest and biggest oil refineries in the world, is proof of the extent of his concern, may God preserve him, to implant the bases of the industrial resurgence which he has supervised since its takeoff.

He pointed out that the Petromin-Shell refinery, which was designed with a production capacity of 250,000 barrels a day with its products to be

provided for export, did not just mean a new refinery built by Petromin, since, in addition to the advanced technology it represented, it also represented a work site for hundreds of young Saudis who have acquired modern petroleum expertise through their studies and training.

In addition, the refinery represented a new artery of connection with the countries of the world which aspire to the course and blessed resurgence of our country under the leadership of the servant of the two holy shrines, and the appointed member and executive president of the Petromin refinery company, at the conclusion of his statement, called on almighty glorious God to preserve for us our leader, the father King Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God preserve him, take him by the hand, help him with the aid from his possession and give everyone success in their activities, so that hopes may be realized.

11887

CSO: 4404/188

AL-QASIM AGRICULTURAL CENTER HOLDS TRAINING COURSES

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 21 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Hammud al-Rumayh: "The Agricultural Training Center in Al-Qasim Is Organizing a Course for Farmers with the Goal of Developing the Competence of People Working in This Area"]

[Text] Nineteen trainees have joined the general agricultural course for technician farmers which is being organized by the agricultural training center in al-Qasim-'Unayzah. It will continue to the end of next April.

This was mentioned to AL-RIYAD by the director of the center, Eng 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Salih al-Rumayh.

He added that the course has the objective of preparing technician farmers who are capable of assuming responsibility regarding agricultural field work in the practical and field area with respect to agricultural machinery of various kinds and its operation and teaching them about tiller and farm equipment parts, their daily maintenance, the method of operating and running them, and safety methods when they are operating. It also will prepare them in the area of crop protection, diagnosis of pest and disease afflictions, means of prevention and treatment, the most important pesticides used, means of using them competently and effectively, and the resistance of weeds and nematodes by modern methods. It will include practical field training in the area of protected farming, areas of vegetable, fruit and various field crop cultivation, their various forms of agricultural handling, service of the crop from farming to harvesting, and concentration in study on practical training in crops which the al-Qasim Province is famous for, through the performance by the trainees themselves of the completion of the agricultural activities related to many vegetable and fruit crops, from preparation of the land to harvest of the crop, from irrigation, the application of fertilizer and the service of plants in various stages and also in the area of the service of date palms, learning about means for serving them, specifications of good seedlings, the agricultural process which must be pursued to obtain a good crop and also practical training in the technique of building and serving nurseries, decorative plants of various types, and also the area of beekeeping, honey gathering, agricultural guidance and its role in agricultural development, the management of farms in a modern scientific manner

and agricultural accounting. A monthly stipend of 700 riyals will be paid out to the trainees during the training period. Trainees who complete the course successfully will be given a certificate with the designation of technician farmer in the area of general agriculture approved by the deputy minister of agriculture for research and agricultural development affairs.

11887

CSO: 4404/188

## BRIEFS

EDUCATION MINISTRY PROJECTS--The value of the projects the Ministry of Education has carried out recently and the services it is currently providing in the al-Qasim educational district totalled 227 million riyals. The director of education in the al-Qasim boys' district, Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Ibn Ibrahim al-'Abd-al-Latif, stated this to AL-RIYAD. He added that 26 educational projects with costs totalling 118,264,296 riyals have been delivered. These consist of 18 primary schools, four intermediate schools, three secondary schools and the combined playgrounds in Buraydah. Al-'Abd al-Halim added that 20 educational projects are currently being constructed at a cost of 108,933,282 riyals, and they consist of 11 primary schools, six intermediate schools, an al-Nur institute and two secondary schools, one in Buraydah and the other in al-Bukayriyah, which were designed in the modern style that is in keeping with the comprehensive resurgence the kingdom is going through. [Text] [Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 21 Dec 86 p 3]

CSO: 4404/189

## BRIEFS

**COSMONAUTS TO BE LAUNCHED**--Two Syrian cosmonauts are to be launched into space aboard a Soviet craft on 22 July, local press reports say. The cosmonauts, Munir Habib and Mohammad Faris, will carry out scientific research during their seven-day flight. This will include surveys of Syrian forests, and water and mineral resources. (MEED 26:7:86, page 24).

[Text] [London MEED in English 10 Jan 87 p 24] /9317

CSO: 4400/118

RESISTANCE LEADER IN FAVOR OF DIALOGUE WITH MOSCOW

Paris LIBERATION in French 9 Jan 87 p 17

[Article by B.P.]

[Text] Discussing a ceasefire agreement, but directly with the Soviets: Such, in substance, is the tenor of a counterproposal from a member of the Afghan Resistance to recent overtures from the Kremlin and the Afghan regime proposing a 6-month truce to guerrillas starting on 15 January.

For the time being, this is not an official position. The suggestion comes, in fact, not from the Alliance of Mojahidin of Afghanistan, which brings together the seven guerrilla parties, but from a prominent figure in the resistance, Jalludin Haqqani. The latter wages the *jihad* with 5,000 mojahidin in the Paktia region in southwestern Afghanistan.

In Islamabad yesterday, Jallaludin said he was ready to negotiate with Moscow the immediate withdrawal of the 115,000 Red Army soldiers and the makeup of an interim government favorable to the guerrillas, stating that such a government should not include any member of the Communist Party or supporters of the old monarchist regime.

The Alliance had no real reaction to the proposal, but in Washington, Nabi Salehi, representing the Mowlawi Mohammadi guerrilla movement and currently spokesman of the coalition, also made such statements, the NEW YORK TIMES reported.

Finally, when questioned by AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE in Pakistan, one member of the Alliance of Mojahidin indicated that the points defined by Jallaludin "are discussed day and night" and added that "no unified decision has yet been made."

Jallaludin's proposal comes following the visit to Kabul by Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, who said he was willing to discuss the schedule for the withdrawal of the Red Army. This is not truly a surprise, insofar as the mojahidin have never ruled out discussing the matter with the Soviets. However, they have always rejected any negotiation with the Afghan Government, a "puppet" regime that for them is but a mere link with the Kremlin.

11,464

CSO: 4619/10

EYEWITNESS RELATES OBSERVATIONS, JUDGMENTS

Bordeaux SUD-OUEST in French 6 Jan 87 p 2

[Interview with Regis Lansade by Josette Degos; date and place not given]

[Text] Regis Lansade, nurse-anesthetist at Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (33), has just completed his second humanitarian mission in Afghanistan. A year later, while there is talk of a ceasefire, he provides the report of a man in the field.

[Question] You spent the end of 1985 and 1986 in the areas of Afghanistan, the USSR and China, in a very important geostrategic region. What trend have you noted?

[Answer] Our arrival came at a time of an unprecedented Soviet-Afghan offensive on the advance positions of the mojahidin of Major Bassir-Khan, around the city of Fayzabad. There is a huge Soviet-Afghan garrison there, with a base, heliport, underground command post and even a Soviet general. The purpose of that offensive was probably to loosen the vice around that base because the mojahidin are camped only a half hour away.

To respond to those direct bombings and the landing of helicopter-borne commands, the mojahidin penetrated Fayzabad at night and burned the headquarters of Afghan television. They had never dared to enter the city itself.

Every day, more women, children and mojahidin arrived at the hospital, wounded in the bombings. We did a great deal of field surgery.

[Question] Mikhail Gorbachev withdrew six regiments from Afghanistan last year. How is that withdrawal felt in the field?

[Answer] Between what one sees on the spot and hears on the BBC, there is an enormous contrast. At the very time Gorbachev was speaking of disengagement, the war was being intensified in the field and there are more and more violations of the Pakistani border.

Five million Afghans are now refugees on the other side of the border, one-third of the population. Never, not even in Southeast Asia, has one ever reached such a figure. Never was the Khad (Afghan KGB) so active in the camps (everyone knows that the new No 1 *najibullah* is the former head of the Khad). Bombs

dropped on Pakistani villages and the Soviet planes that violate air space designate those refugees and the political weight they represent, but they also serve to test the Pakistani resistance. Who else would have any interest in dropping bombs on a bazar?

Politicians proclaim the negotiated solution loud and long, but at the same time, military activity is more intense.

[Question] You are very pessimistic.

[Answer] I wish it were true, that this imminent disengagement announced by the new masters of the Kremlin would be effective. But I am afraid, given what we see in the field, that that campaign is part of a general context of painting over the Soviet policy coat of arms with human rights.

This is part of the little necessary gestures such as Sakharov, because I cannot imagine the Russians leaving just like that, even if Afghanistan is their mud pit. They maintain the political regime, the bases, strategic achievements, and we must realize that the war in Afghanistan (if one excludes the dead) costs Moscow less than the amount of aid it gives to Cuba annually. This would be the first time that the Russians would leave advantages so dearly won.

For me, it is a war that is going to last. Everyone sticks to his positions. The resistance is a wall. In the south, it has received Stinger ground-to-air missiles, which means that the Soviets will no longer control the air. Soviet-Afghan pressure is ever more insistent. It is as if everyone wanted to arrive at the Geneva negotiations in a position of strength.

11,464

CSO: 4619/10

ARTICLES DISCUSS WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN RESISTANCE, SOCIETY

Diverse Roles

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by B. Dupaigne]

[Text] First come the elders, the "greybeards," the venerable old men with flowing beards. The village council is comprised of old landowners respected because they are presumed to possess wisdom, experience and sound judgment.

Next come the old women, the grandmothers, who often rule their husbands and families with an iron rod and whose free remarks and real power are always surprising.

Productive adults follow, those who bring in the money, which they always turn over to the household, money generally managed by the old women.

Younger women come right after, mothers first, respected because, thanks to them, the line will be perpetuated and the strength of the family increased. Then come the young couples that have not yet had children. The children come last, even though they are often king of the family.

Every individual must respect the conventions of the role assigned to him in the family and society.

Mature men must always exhibit dignified behavior in order to be deserving of their reputation for wisdom. Adults must work, women as well as men. Otherwise, they will be kicked out of the family group.

Women must respect the traditions of modesty and discretion. They must not show themselves in the presence of strangers. They must not speak or laugh too loudly. They must not walk ahead of the men because that would be the same as "walking on their heads" (the noble part of the individual because that is where God resides). (In our country, one would say that they should not wear hats or pants.) They eat after the men and not with them.

Men must exercise discretion in their relations with women, with no gestures of affection in public. They must never look women in the eye, for this would be interpreted as an invitation. Even as adults and even when they are already

fathers themselves, sons speak only after their fathers. They do not smoke in their presence.

Even if these rules appear restrictive, they are rules of manners that help preserve the equilibrium of society, which is always difficult to protect.

### Young Girl in Kabul

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 7-9

[Article by B. Dupaigne]

[Text] An Afghan girl who was a high school student during the girls demonstrations in 1980 arrived in France as a refugee in August 1985. The following is her story.

#### First Demonstrations

I participated in the first actions of high school girls to protest the Soviet invasion of our country.

Before that, on the 2d of Hut (21 February 1980, in the evening), in response to a code word spread from person to person throughout the capital, all the residents of Kabul went up onto the rooftops, shouting "God is great!" The next day, most of the shops remained closed. There were demonstrations in bazaar against the Soviet presence, demonstrations that were put down with great bloodshed. Many people were wounded or killed. (Footnote 1) (There were several hundred deaths as a result of this first demonstration of the residents of Kabul against the Soviet invasion.)

On 21 April 1980, there was an impromptu demonstration by high school girls to protest the Soviet invasion and the looting. Many high school boys were then recruited as they came out of the lycees to be sent to fight with the Army, with no training.

By early 1980, many high school boys had disappeared, arrested or sent off to the Army by force, without even having the time to tell their families.

On 21 April, girls in the 10th class (corresponding to the 2d in France) at the Malalai Lycee (for girls, opposite the Ministry of Interior) organized a protest in the lycee. (Footnote 2) (It would appear that the demonstrations on 21 April 1980 began at the Sourya and Rabe Balkhi lycees for girls in Kabul.) Then they escaped from the lycee buildings (the doors had been closed), one by one, through a bathroom window open to the outside. They took along with them the students of the Djamhouriat Lycee, breaking down the front doors to enable them to leave.

The demonstration reached the Esteqlal Lycee, then the Aycha-e Dourani Lycee. On the first day, there were already casualties stemming from clashes with the Army trying to quell the demonstration.

The following day, 22 April 1980, the girls gathered in front of the Djam-houriat Hospital, opposite the Malalai Lycee. They stopped the convoy of soldiers sent to break us up. They tried to jostle us, to make us leave, but we tied our white veils around the soldiers' heads. They were furious and threatened us, trying to get those women's veils off. They ended up firing shots and all the high school girls fled.

The demonstrations continued for the following two days. Nahid, a girl from Rabe Balkhi, was killed in front of the university and Wadjia at Sourya Lycee.

On 28 April, there was a general student demonstration. Communist Khalqi and Partchami soldiers fired on the students, killing and wounding many. (Foot-note 3) (According to the 3 May 1980 issue of LE MONDE, there were reportedly from 26 to 57 dead among the high school boys and girls at the time of all the youth demonstrations in Kabul at the end of April (21-22 April, 28 April).)

From 19 to 22 May 1980 (29-30 of the month of Saor and the first day of Djaoza), demonstrations made up of a crowd of young men and women formed to protest the repression that resulted in deaths and casualties, the massive arrests and the imprisonment of many participants in the demonstrations. The parade headed for the university, bringing along more students. However, repression forced the youth movement to come to a halt.

#### Situation in High Schools

High school girls still dare to refuse to join the youth organizations formed by the regime in Kabul. Those who have joined are openly criticized in their classes. The girls are afraid, but continue to talk together and to address remarks to those with cards from the Youth Organization (Sazman-e Djawanen).

One year, the director of the lycee tried to make us sign a paper joining the Communist Party before we could take the exams. Everyone protested. Babrak Karmal had to issue a statement indicating that membership was not obligatory.

Every year on 27 April (the 7th of Saor), the government organizes a ceremony to honor the anniversary of the "revolution." There are official speeches. In the early years, the students still dared to respond to these speeches in the university and to criticize them. Now there are almost no boys left in the university, but the girls still sometimes interrupt the official speeches.

In the city, there are now (1985) far fewer killed than during the time of Amin (1979), but arrests are still more numerous and the prisons are full. Women are also put in prison, but they are still arrested less than the men.

There can be no more demonstrations in Kabul against the regime because of the Soviet presence and the stronger control of the regime in Kabul over the capital. But tracts still circulate from the Resistance. The people of Kabul would like to see greater unity of Resistance parties.

## Exile

Many people are trying to leave Kabul so their sons can escape military service or because they have relatives abroad. My father also decided to leave because he would not agree to cooperate with the regime and he would have been forced to sooner or later.

Before leaving, one has to sell everything to get cash, but it is very dangerous. Hazara pedlars travel the streets offering to buy whatever one wants to sell, but some are Secret Police informers and those preparing to go abroad are found out in this way.

I was photographed one day taking porcelaine dishes to an antique store to sell. That delayed our departure 2 months; we had to wait out of caution.

To sell one's house, you have to have the deed approved by the district office of the Khad, the secret service. For a sale of over 200,000 afghanis (16,000 francs), one pays high taxes to the government.

My mother, my sister and I left one day, under the implicit protection of a member of our family who belongs to the Communist Party. The first obstacle is to get through the Army checkpoints set up at all city exits.

We were then turned over to a border runner. These border runners make you pay from 24,000 to 70,000 afghanis. You have to rent horses at 8,000 afghanis each. We rented three.

First of all, we took a bus belonging to one of the regular lines that head for the cities near the border. Then we joined the guide and the horses and traveled as far as Pakistan in three nights, with all the bombing.

## Tortured Women

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 10-11

[Account by Fahima Nassery, former mathematics teacher at the Aycha-e Durrani High School for Girls in Kabul]

[Text] Many accounts of torture reach us, providing a particularly painful view of police practices in Kabul. The following is the wrenching account of a teacher which reveals that repression does not spare women. Can a regime that claims to "liberate women" begin by torturing them? (Footnote 1)  
(See LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN, No 2.)

Fahima Nassery was a mathematics teacher at the Aycha-e Durrani High School for Girls from 1969 to 1981. She reports that the Soviet invasion roused most teachers and students in Kabul. The first women's demonstration took place in Kabul on 22 February 1980 and was put down by force. Several girls were killed, including Nahid and Wadjiha. Women teachers observed a 1-week strike following the massacre.

Nassery then started to distribute tracts and gathered funds to help families members of which had fallen victim to repression. Arrested twice by the secret police, she was tortured, then imprisoned for a year and a half before fleeing to Pakistan:

I was arrested in May 1981 by about 20 agents of the Khad, the secret police, who were accompanied by plain-clothes Soviets and three or four Afghan female collaborators.

They searched everything at my home before finding tracts favorable to the Resistance that I had hidden in a mattress.

They first took me to the Block 1 party headquarters in the Micro-rayon district. There, they insulted me and called me all kinds of names such as "whore of the counterrevolutionaries," telling me that I would pay dearly for having helped the "enemies." Next, they transferred me to the Khad offices in the Chachdarak district.

They beat me, slapped me, pushed me around and insulted me, then took me to a completely closed room. In the cell, loudspeakers broadcast music. Behind that music, one could hear voices screaming and moaning because of torture. They were cries of suffering. It was horrible. It lasted until the evening. The sound coming out of the loudspeakers was louder and louder. After that, men came in and told me to stretch out on a table, without moving. They asked me questions about the underground groups, the Resistance, while beating me. Then they would leave and come back a half hour later. They came back every half-hour; that lasted until the morning.

The next day, they took me to another room. First of all, they pulled out me hair in little bunches, slowly. Then they forced me to stand on one foot. I was supposed to stay in that position, balanced, from 10:00 at night until 4:00 in the morning, without putting the other foot down or they would beat me. I remained in that position for 3 days and 3 nights! Every half-hour they would come back and ask the same questions over and over.

Since I would not answer, they used another method. They brought a basin. In it was a chemical in which they dipped my feet. It was unbearable. My feet hurt terribly. I had the impression they were burning, as if they had been dipped in acid. (Fahima Nassery then showed her feet, deformed forever, which prevents her from walking normally.)

At the same time, they stuck needles all over my body and gave me electric shocks. I endured that treatment for 13 days and 13 nights.

They never let me sleep for all that time.

After 13 days, they took me to a room with hidden windows at the Sedarat (offices of the prime minister, the main interrogation center of the secret police in Kabul).

The room was wet, dirty, full of rats, insects and traces of blood, mainly the imprints of bloody palms on the walls.

They took me for another interrogation from 10:00 at night until 4:00 in the morning. There were also female interrogators. (Footnote 2) (See the account by Farida Ahmadi in the No 14 issue of our journal, which matches many of the points in this report.) I knew some of them: Alamtab, Zarghuna, Najid, Shafiqa, Zahera and Zakia. Some of them had been my students. They asked me the same questions over and over on my contacts with the Resistance.

After that, they transferred me to another room. It was completely closed. On the ground, all over the floor, were -- it was so horrible! -- there were fingers, hands, noses, ears, feet that had been cut off.

There were breasts and women's hair! There was even a decomposing body! "There! Those are the pieces of your friends and the same thing will happen to you if you don't do what you are told!" my jailers warned me. It was horrible. I spent the night in that room, alongside those body parts and that decomposing body that gave off a nauseating stench. It was a horrible experience.

#### Women's Cell

Finally, they later transferred me to a cell with other women.

There were 14 women in a cell with room for only five or six. Obviously we were piled one on top of the other. We had practically nothing to eat. The cells were infested with rats that ran right over us. In the middle of the cell was a kind of stinking gutter that poisoned the air.

In my section, there were some 100 or 150 women. One of them had a 2-month-old baby. Her name was Karima. She was tortured every day, morning and evening. And she was innocent! Another was still pregnant and sick and received no care at all. She gave birth right in the cell. The next day, they took her away for more interrogation. Naturally, they tortured her.

There were also old women, one of whom, 60, a nomad, was arrested in Paghman because her son was a soldier. There was another 65 years old.

I remained in prison a year before being released.

I was arrested again in May 1984, because I spoke about my first experience in prison.

I was taken to the Sedarat. The first day, a Soviet Tajik gave me a piece of paper with a single question written on it? "How many times have you been arrested?" I also met a Soviet interrogator who spoke Pashtun with a heavy accent. They brought me pictures of my three children, telling me they had been taken to the national orphanage and that some members of my family had been arrested or killed.

For lack of proof, I was again released after being held for 6 months.

Finally, I escaped from my country and arrived in Pakistan on 28 September 1985.

Fahima Nassery  
Afghan Information Center, Pechawar  
No 54, September 1985, and  
Action Afghanistan,  
Gilde Europeenne du Raid, No 33

### Children of Exile

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Catherine Chattard]

[Text] Nafissa is too young. She has no memories from before the war. By listening to the nostalgic tales of her grandfather or uncle, she can only imagine a peaceful time troubled only by an occasional family vendetta, the settling of intertribal quarrels or the trials of a difficult climate. It was a time when one dipped deeply into the family's food reserves solely for the honor of inviting the maulawi (educated religious official) and to listen incredulously while he affirmed that the earth was round and not flat.

Today, the people search the skies less for the purpose of predicting the weather, questioning the stars or delighting in the poetry of the heavens than of spotting helicopter patrols. Modern times have telescoped their most infamous signature on traditional Afghanistan where, far from Kabul, the radio, truck and automatic rifle were still the most advanced sign of progress before the arrival of the Soviet tanks and fighter jets in December 1979.

As recently as last week, Nafissa remembers a lark of a party with her 15-year-old neighbors. She had only begun to frequent girls of an age to be married.

She helped them gather the white mulberries. Once dried, they would be turned into a compact paste. It is easy for soldiers to carry in their packs and for civilians, it is often the only sweet. They talked and talked. They could still see them, the flirts, eying the men in the fields.

Everyone in the village had already experienced the upheavals of war personally, the mourning, the sacrifices, the anxiety. Three-fourths of the terrorized residents had long since left, temporarily giving in to so much outrageousness. Nafissa's family belonged to a hard core of diehards, galvanized by a "to-the-death" attitude and the intransigence of those in the Resistance. Against the Soviet soldiers, hammered by doubt and in a hurry to be done with their military service in what to their eyes is an accursed country, the Afghans have pitted a crystal-clear spiritual commitment, a candor, determination and vitality that are absolutely incredible. They have a tenacity engendered by the harsh mountains, the burning deserts and the biting cold.

And yet, today the village is completely devastated.

Gathered together on the ruins of the mosque, the graybeards and soldiers review the air reprisals resulting, they believe, from their raid on the provincial capital. It was written: The last families have to leave the village. "We can fight better if we get the women, children and old people safely to Pakistan. Then we will have nothing more to lose," says Sarbaz, leader of a commando group. "You will return to a liberated Afghanistan," the soldiers tell their families.

Leaving the family house and territory is to die a little. At least the men can find comfort in the camaraderie of revolt. One would say that there could be no more attractive way of life or any higher occupation than that of soldier in the holy war. But for the women, the war is a trial. It means taking the place of the men in the fields, no longer having periods because of stress or fearing motherhood, running for cover with a big belly, hearing the cries of the babies being jostled around. It means offering hospitality at any time of the night to groups of soldiers, even without being able to listen to them speak. It means tirelessly fixing tea, bread and greasy soup. Women are the shadow army of the Afghan Resistance.

Like a parade of ghosts, the silent caravan of the refugees sets out in deepest night, a week of danger-filled traveling before reaching the Pakistani border. To be safer, they walk at night and sleep during the day under the trees or the boulders. But high mountain passes and the areas scattered with antipersonnel mines cannot be crossed at night.

Some women have put back on the chador they are no longer accustomed to wearing in the village. They sweat, breathe stale air and stumble because the little opening in the long, pleated veil obscures their field of vision.

Every day has its string of incidents: A little girl falls into a freezing stream; one dozing rider slipped off a donkey and fell onto the rocks; an old man carries his sick wife in a big straw basket. Sometimes the balky horses have to be pulled along the dizzying cliffs. Sometimes the caravan suddenly falls apart at the approach of the helicopters spouting fire from their ballies.

Every day, Nafissa goes through ghost villages like her own. At first, everything seems normal: There is water running in the irrigation canals, the birds sing, the flowers perfume the wind, the fruit is ripe. But, the big gates are walled, the mosque is mute at prayer time, and one spots the putrid carcass, the remnant of a recent slaughter. Nothing but the mournful howling of the mastiffs at night reveals whether these villages are inhabited or deserted.

In less time than it takes to tell the tale, the fate of Nafissa, her family and her village was transformed.

## Women in Resistance

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 p 16

[Article by AIC, Pechawar, December 1985]

[Text] In the rural areas, part of the organization of the Resistance depends on them. They fix and carry food for the soldiers. When the men are gone, off fighting, they are often the ones who do the farm work. They work in the fields, often at night because of the bombing, and bring in the harvests. If agricultural activities remain in Afghanistan and if food is still available, it is largely thanks to the women.

Cases of women using weapons have been reported in different regions. Soviet troops searching and looting houses have often been fired upon by women. In one village near Ghazni, for example, one mother opened fire on Soviets entering her house and killed several before being shot herself.

In the cities, it is the women who have set the example of rebellion. Shortly after the Soviet invasion of December 1979, thousands of women invaded the Pul-e Tcharkhi central prison to free political prisoners. It was high school girls who launched the student demonstrations in the streets of the capital to protest the invasion of Afghanistan from 19 to 22 May 1980 (29-30 Saor, 1 Djaoza). Several women and girls were killed during that period.

Women have organized in small underground groups to distribute tracts in the capital, transport weapons, plan action against Soviet soldiers or collaborators or found mutual aid networks.

Women have set up committees to help the families of prisoners and martyrs. They have collected money, clothing and food for distribution to them.

Many women, taking advantage of the posts they hold in the administration, gather information on movements of government or Soviet troops.

But many of them, members of urban networks, have been arrested and tortured. All reports show that there are many women in prison in Kabul and in the provinces.

Women are also active in resistance movements in the other large cities, particularly in Herat and Kandahar.

## Women of Bamyan

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 17-19

[Article by Anaik Pellenec, International Medical Aid (AMI), 119 Rue des Amandiers, 75020 Paris]

[Text] Anaik Pellenec spent six months of 1985 as a nurse in a valley close to Bamyan, at the same time as a doctor from International Medical Aid. She describes how her integration into the villages came about.

## Activities of Afghan Women

Women are responsible for all the work done in the home: cooking, making bread twice a day, carrying water, cleaning the house, taking care of the children and watching them, sewing and making rugs.

Some of the work outside the house is also done by them: milking, making butter and yogurt, gathering and drying the fruit that will be eaten all winter long, participating in seasonal field work, particularly the harvesting.

They go out only rarely, to visit relatives, neighbors or the sick or to come to us for medical care. Nevertheless, the homes are rarely empty and the closest neighbors visit each other several times a day.

Since the war began, because of the frequent bombings, a certain change has come about in the speed of the life of the women, their work and the places where that work is done. Many women have told me that there was no way they could continue to make rugs as they once did, outside the house, because the craft requires a large space due to the length of the horizontal chain.

All the villages have been transformed and now have their day districts and their night districts. At sunup, the men leave for the fields, located quite far from the village, protected by the trees. Once the women have finished the first bread baking, they go to the heights overlooking the villages, where old Buddhist grottos have been rehabilitated. Other caves have also been dug by men for protection in case of bombings.

This is where all the women of the village get together, accompanied by their small children. They have brought what they need to make tea, rest and work: a sewing machine and embroidery materials. They spend the day there until late afternoon, when they return to their homes to fix supper.

We have seen many women traumatized by the war and who start to tremble, scream and run in a panic at the slightest sound of a plane. Others are quite calm, in contrast. When they see planes in the sky, they take shiny objects out of the windows and hide under the furniture or in the corner, using mattresses or other covers to protect themselves from possible bombings.

Some women came to see us because they were suffering from insomnia; many for gastric ulcers. Finally, there are many problems related to the stress of war.

Many came regularly without any apparent pathology, seeking the comfort of our presence. When I got to know them better, I learned to discern the recent widows or forced celibacy, when a husband may have left to work in Iran and would not return.

Some of these women were impoverished, deprived of any resources at all, and most of them took up the work of their dead or missing husband.

## Difficulties in Coming To See Us

In the first days following our arrival in the village, we mainly saw men, only one woman for every five men. Gradually, a balance was achieved, even if, in reviewing the record of our stay, it would appear that we took care of more men than women on the whole.

Initially, I was very sought-after to visit families in the home. The men, reluctant to have their wives leave the home, preferred that I go to their home. But after discovering how our clinic was set up, allowing separate consultations for women and men, the latter began to send us their wives, mothers and sisters. It was often through the women that we saw the children, particularly nursing babies, from which they would not separate themselves.

The most difficult thing was to make the women agree to see me alone, so accustomed are they to doing everything together with their sisters or mothers. And yet, it was difficult for me to have the whole group come in because then the woman in question would never answer my questions directly (even the most simple questions, such as the number of children she had, for example), letting her elders answer for her. Often the illness defined by the first in the group also became that of the five or six women with her, so anxious were they to be heard. Individual talks generally yielded better results. The exchange between one woman and myself could then occur more easily.

It should also be noted, more for women than men, perhaps, that consulting a local healer generally went along with what I gave them.

Most of the women I was able to see also followed a diet advised by relatives or a *tabib*, a local healer who mainly bleeds patients. It was not infrequent to find women who had had nothing but bread and green tea for months following childbirth or pulmonary diseases.

## Medical Problems of Women

The reasons women generally consulted doctors were usually the same as those of the men: rheumatism, gastric and pulmonary problems, infections, skin diseases, debility and war wounds.

Women also came for specifically female problems: infections, leucorrhoea, metritis, salpingitis, irregular or painful menstruation (women generally have their period at the beginning of the rising moon, which explains why, on that basis, they keep track of the regularity or irregularity of their cycle), uterine problems due to too many pregnancies or pregnancies too close together, bleeding problems accompanying the premenopause period.

But the most common reason for consultations after general complaints was sterility. In childless couples, it is the woman who is held responsible for the sterility. She can be repudiated or the man has the right to take a second wife. Certain factors contribute to sterility: localized infections, anemia, debility, goiter, a history of tuberculosis or infrequent sexual relations.

Sterility is a veritable crisis in the lives of these women. Some even went to Kabul for medical help before the war; several as far as New Delhi.

### Pregnancy

Pregnancy is never a reason for seeking medical help in itself. Another reason would have to cause women to come to see me at the clinic. Even then it was difficult to examine them because they repeated that their problem had nothing to do with pregnancy. I asked those suffering from high blood pressure to come see me regularly, explaining the dangers they and their babies faced, but I would rarely see them again.

As for the birth itself, it usually did not take place at the clinic. Women have their babies at home, surrounded by all the women in the family and the village midwife. Children enter and leave the room, but men are not admitted.

The parturient gives birth in a semi-seated position and it is striking to note that among all the women around, no one, not even the midwife, knows what to do to help. They simply wait and nonintervention seems to be the rule, as in Hazaradjat, where I also worked in 1984.

However, near the end of my stay, I was sometimes called to assist and it always meant an emergency. Of the four births to which I was summoned, two of the women were dead before I even arrived, one from bleeding and the other from an infection. In the case of the other two, my aid was minimal and my presence was more reassuring than actually active.

As for the vocabulary used by women to mark the different phases of childbirth, it is extremely limited and very vague. Furthermore, it is very difficult to obtain details about the frequency of the contractions.

A set of very precise rituals follows the birth and governs the beginning of the common life of the mother and child.

### Number of Living Children

Most mature women (25-30 years of age, if one considers that girls get married and begin to bear children between the ages of 13 and 18) whom I was able to question had between five and ten children, half of which usually did not survive to become adults. Each of them had had at least one miscarriage or had had a stillborn child.

It is during the first four months and at the time of weaning that deaths are the most frequent. Infant mortality at the age of 1 year is about 125/1000, with less than 25 cases of perinatal mortality.

## Two Years in Badakhshan

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 20-22

[Article by Anne-Marie Le Magorou]

[Text] Anne-Marie Le Magorou has just completed a lengthy stay in Badakhshan Province, near the Soviet border. She learned Persian there and felt close to the families with which she lived. Despite the war and isolation, she was happy there. It is her experience and the events she witnessed that she wished to describe to the readers of LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN:

I left in May 1984 with the caravan of Doctors Without Borders (MSF) for Badakhshan, a mountainous province, the northernmost, of Afghanistan. (Footnote 1) (MSF: 68 Boulevard St Marcel, 75005 Paris) I was happy to return to the region because I had already worked there from April to November 1983 at the MSF permanent clinic.

With our horses and a ton of medicines, we went over the Nouristan and Andjuman passes at an altitude of 5,000 meters, then passed by the lapis lazuli mine then in operation. After traveling for 33 days, we reached our two valleys. I felt good. On 31 October, we had to start out again in order not to get caught by the winter. On our way back, we met the caravan of French relief doctors at Andjuman. It took me but an instant to go back with them. I remained until 18 August 1985, thus spending a solid year and a half in those splendid valleys.

MSF had set up a permanent clinic in the upper region of a small, narrow valley south of Fayzabad. Tanks could not get there. We were bombed once, but we could take shelter under the cliff and the bombs could not reach us.

The second clinic was set up in Yaftal, right near the provincial capital. The Soviets knew that we were there. One day, we received greetings from a doctor through a patient. At 1500 hours on 1 October 1984, we were bombed by Soviet planes that came from the USSR (there are no bombers at the Fayzabad airport, for it is too small). After that, we had to move constantly and the clinic remained mobile.

Our third location was also bombed in the summer of 1984. Previously, there had been seven bombing alerts.

### Patients

Even for the stationary clinic, we made rounds on horseback once a month, going as far as two or three days from the clinic. All the villagers had heard of us and we were received everywhere anxiously.

At the clinic, people came from over a day's walking distance. To those people, we gave medicine even if they were not really sick so as not to disappoint them. Many diseases were linked to the stress of war and one could always give them something. Some came only to be reassured.

We handled many cases of malaria, pulmonary infections, toothaches or stomach problems, skin diseases (dermatosis, furunculosis), laryngitis and amoebiasis. There were naturally many infections.

There were epidemics of measles in children that we could not wipe out, as well as whooping cough, the "black cough." We needed refrigeration facilities in our mountains, which was impossible. Our vaccines had become ineffective. During one epidemic of measles that occurred in a large village we visited once a month, 60 percent of the children died.

There is a great deal of malnutrition among children, particularly at the time of weaning. An 18-month-old child is somewhat neglected when his mother has another baby. Weaning is too rapid and the child is suddenly switched to bread and tea.

We three French lived in a private house. The patients were adorable. In the spring, they brought us each an egg just to thank us. Sometimes they asked us to take care of their horses.

We were supplied with wheat and bread by the Djamiat-e Islami, the local Resistance party, and we bought tea, sugar, fats and sometimes meat. But three Westerners to feed and house for a year is a burden for such a tiny town.

The main problem was caused by people who came from far away for consultations. Those who could not be examined that day had to be put up in nearby houses and fed by the people. Despite the courteousness of the people, it was a heavy burden for the villagers. Sometimes, 15 patients would spend the night in a village of 35 inhabitants, a crushing burden! Often residents asked us to extend our hours at night so that less patients would spend the night. We fed patients in the hospital ourselves in our small clinic, but not those who came to us in the daytime.

#### Women

Often, not enough consideration is given to the women and children. Practically from the age of 2 on, children have to get along on their own. From the age of 8, they help with the field work, insofar as they are able. Based on tradition, boys leave the women's world at the age of 7 to learn his occupation as a man. By the age of 12 or 13, they are already working in the fields.

The women are used to working without complaining and the men demand too much of them. Without women, there would be no bread, no children, and therefore, no future adults or future soldiers. A woman who remarries loses custody of her children (over the age of 7) from the first marriage.

Girls are given in marriage much too young. Starting at age 15, the girl's consent is necessary before she can be made to accept a husband, so that some parents tend to arrange an engagement just before the 15th birthday in order not to have to ask their opinion. When women came to see us, they would brighten up and tell us their troubles. They complained of different things

in order to be able to come and see us. Many invented inexplicable discomforts and pains. It might go so far as refusing to engage in sexual intercourse using the excuse of illnesses.

Despite our efforts, our presence still upset the life of the little valley where we lived somewhat. No matter what concessions we made to respect or adopt their way of life, we represented a certain temptation of a different life, particularly for the women.

The arrival of Western doctors and women doctors was an opening for the women. They saw that different types of behavior were possible and gradually became more curious, bolder. For them, being sick was a good excuse to come and see how we, other women, lived. They demanded to come see us and their husbands could not forbid them from seeking care. We thus saw women whose illnesses were but an excuse, a protest against the difficult life their husbands made them endure. We saw several who had remained in bed for a year for the sole purpose of challenging the power of their husbands.

We had an important role to play in providing care, naturally, but we also necessarily caused a certain disturbance of the equilibrium of that small society that had always been cut off from everything. Naturally, before we arrived, no doctor had ever visited those remote valleys.

#### Fighting

Members of the Resistance had nothing, no money or shoes or warm clothing and practically nothing to eat. Poorly equipped, they were also poorly armed. Thus, there were relatively few attacks on the Soviet base at Fayzabad or the Kechem government post.

The Soviets regularly manifested their presence by artillery firing and long-range rockets shot at the mountain villages. It was blind shooting from their base at Fayzabad, for no reason at all, a mere deterrent. One had the impression that the Soviets simply wanted to terrorize the people and make them leave.

There were also short helicopter operations in the villages, sweeps of young people who were forceably recruited into the Army. Customarily, if the Soviets find, at the time of their raids, a card from a political party in the Resistance or a rifle, they kill the entire guilty family outright. Once, a young man unwisely fired at a Soviet reconnaissance plane. The next day, the village was bombed.

On the road, we also met a caravan of nomads, mainly women and children, going over the Andjuman pass to escape into Pakistan. It was bombed in broad daylight.

In the Andjuman villages, 95 percent of whose houses were destroyed in the spring 1984 offensive, the residents are still there. They live in shelters dug into the mountains. The men try to cultivate the fields at night. I do not know how they manage, but the people continue to live where they were.

Unfortunately, we had to take care of the civil war wounded in Badakhshan as well. We were in a valley affiliated with the Djamiat-e Islami, but very close to villages controlled by the Hezb-e Islami (Hekmatyar). Several times in 1984, there was fighting between two groups over control of the villages. There was none in 1985.

One could also feel distrust among the people near Fayzabad, the provincial capital, fear of the secret police and of denunciations. A Fayzabad high school boy had been imprisoned after the 1978 coup d'etat. He returned to the village, but the Resistance members distrusted him because he came from the city and he was somewhat in the position of being under house arrest.

### Agriculture

The upper mountain valleys are obviously not very rich. Wheat is grown up to an altitude of 4,000 meters, along with colza and potatoes. The land is left fallow every other year. Wheat is harvested in August or September, depending on the altitude. A harvest is considered good when ten times the amount sown is reaped.

Even under normal conditions, it is difficult to make it through to spring when the reserves from the previous year have been exhausted and when the new wheat is not yet ripe. For 3 months, the people eat only cakes made from moldy flour made from wheat mixed with barley. The 1984-1985 winter was difficult locally. In particular, there was no more barley left at all for the horses.

Very little corn is grown, but there are cumin crops, sold as far away as Pakistan. Fortunately, there are dairy products from cows, goats and sheep, which are raised in the high meadows. Residents consume the milk and yogurt in the summertime, but they eat meat very rarely. However, they do know how to preserve meat for a week, cooked and preserved in fat. They also dry beef.

In the spring, between seasons, the people fish for trout using nets in the rivers and streams and consume large quantities. There are many fruit trees, apricots, mulberries that are dried for the winter, apples, peaches and cherries.

Finally, there is opium, a traditional crop in the high valleys. This opium is bought by middlemen who resell it at the Fayzabad market. The Soviets control opium purchases. It is harvested in June and July. In 1984, it was sold for 4,000 afghanis (300 francs) a pao (a little under 500 grams), a very high price. Consequently, the peasants planted a great deal for 1985. However, in July 1985, the Soviet agents bought the opium at half the price of the preceding year. In addition, the crop was bad, only half the normal yield. As a result, many peasants who had thought it profitable to neglect their wheat and grow opium do not have any wheat for this winter.

And yet, the snowfall was exceptional in early 1985 and the harvests should have been good. The passes could not be opened until 25 June, which is exceptionally late.

As everywhere in Afghanistan, climatic conditions change totally from one region to another. North of the mountainous barrier of the Hindu Kush, snow was abundant early in 1985. In the south, in Logar or Paktya, there was persistent drought.

### Isolation

The valleys are separated from one another by high passes. Supplies present a problem. Everything must be carried on men's backs by mountain trails. Most of the villages are blocked four months out of the year.

There are often one or two little shops in the villages. For major purchases, people used to go to the urban centers, Fayzabad and Taluqan. In 1984 and 1985, it was no longer possible to get supplies in Fayzabad. The Soviets controlled the ways in and out and prevented food from being shipped to rural areas.

In the wintertime, there is a shortage of everything. Residents even asked us not to read any more at night in order to save on lamp oil. No more was to be found.

As a result of the isolation, illiteracy is the rule. Before the war, the people paid census takers to say nothing about the boys so as not to have to send them to school or to do their military service. In the villages, in contrast, the Koranic schools still exist.

In all, I spent 2 years in Badakhshan, 8 months in 1983 and a year and a half in 1984-1985. It was not always easy for us. We Westerners had to be the ones to make the concessions in order to adapt to the local habits and customs. It was there that we learned the meaning of the word "freedom."

But there, living with those families, I was very happy. I loved the emotional attachment to them. We were part of the family and I would like to go back. They need our moral support. We cannot just forget about them now. "Tell about us," they say. "No one comes to see us."

### Medical Assistance

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 p 23

[Remarks by Dr Laurence Laumonier, International Medical Aid), gathered by Catherine Chattard]

[Text] Laurence Laumonier is one of the persons best acquainted with the situation in Afghanistan, having gone there several times since 1980:

Here, we are above all doctors, hybrids, asexual. We work day after day with the men amidst a total lack of security that is exhausting, but that fosters friendships. And yet, we continue to hand one another a pack of cigarettes without touching each other's fingers. Charm, appearances, ambiguous gestures: There is no room for play here. Emotionally speaking, one sometimes suffers from the solitude.

Inversely, male doctors can spend months in the home of an Afghan family without ever seeing the faces of the women working there.

In the evening, the complicity of the women is a joy. They never reproach us for being close to the men if they perceive that we respect their traditions. Not being escorted by a husband or a brother no longer shocks them. They are curious about everything and sometimes fantasize about our freedom of speech and movement. Some would willingly join the active resistance and bear weapons. The increased responsibilities they have had to shoulder because of the war has intensified the change in ways of thinking.

In the regions close to Kabul, the women sometimes ask us for contraceptives unless they suffer from amenorrhoea because of stress, like most of the French women serving with humanitarian missions in Afghanistan. Even in the most remote places, couples come asking about contraception.

One evening, I was called to the bedside of a woman about to give birth. Since this was unusual, I figured that she needed Western medical care. The woman, squatting, would clutch a rope as the contractions came. I wanted to examine her, but it was out of the question to even touch her. So I sat down and watched with an academic air, wondering what in the hell I was doing there. A midwife lowered the woman's pants a bit and a baby girl popped out on a sheet. The midwife cut the cord with a big knife and tied it off with string. The baby was taken away by a little 14-year-old girl who immediately painted her eyes with kohl and put an embroidered bonnet on her head. Visibly disappointed at having a girl, the mother uncovered herself enough to expel the placenta in a rag filled with ashes. Then came a machine-gun burst and the sacrifice of a ram to hail the happy event. Then all the men in the family came to me and asked me to choose the baby's name. Being a Christian, I thought they were joking. "It doesn't matter; we'll teach you the prayers." So I learned a few verses of the Koran, whispered them in the baby girl's right ear and chose her name: Love Sugar.

#### Wardak Region

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 pp 27-28

[Article by Chantal Habert, Medecin du Monde, 67 Avenue de la Republique, 75011 Paris]

[Text] Chantal Habert, a doctor at the Besancon Hospital, spent 2 months in Afghanistan in October and November 1985, serving with a Medecin du Monde [World Doctor] mission in the northwestern Wardak region:

Our task was to complete a traveling exploratory mission so as to evaluate the medical needs of the people, who had had no doctor since the beginning of the war.

After crossing Paktya Province, over half of whose villages have been destroyed and abandoned, and reaching the Amin Wardak command center, we walked for a few more hours through a mountainous, desert region before

enjoying the surprise and shock of discovering a green valley cultivated by the local Hazara people, where the images of war seemed nonexistent. But it was but a facade: The last villages we went through at the end of our mission had been bombed 2 weeks before we arrived.

After visiting the commanding officer of the valley, we began to visit the villages, but we had to draw up our itinerary ourselves.

#### Medical Practice

In most cases, the people's welcome was most warm. The arrival of the French doctors was greatly appreciated, but it was often difficult for us to know whether the pleasure expressed by the Afghans was due to the moral support we gave them by virtue of our presence or rather, to the wide distribution of medicines that we had to make.

The Afghan peasant has a notion about symptoms, the manifestation of "pain," generally, but he has no notion of sickness, which goes against our Western reasoning. Giving rules about hygiene and diet seems quite illusory in the field. Only the pills hold the miraculous, saving power.

The second difficulty we encountered was the attitude to be taken toward persons who were apparently healthy, but who complained of general, vague pains, particularly frequent among the women. Our few attempts at therapeutic abstention were very poorly received by the people, which shows that "the pill" does play a role of moral support.

#### Consultations

There were three persons on our team: a male doctor, a female doctor (myself) and a female nurse.

Aside from the many cases of general, vague pains, we mainly ran into parasitosis, gastrointestinal problems, broncho-pulmonary diseases, ENT problems and conjunctivitis. There were some serious illnesses and an incidence of tuberculosis of about 1 percent, usually ganglionic. We also found a few cases of gynecological pathology that were difficult to resolve. Our male nurse-interpreter had to absent himself during the examination.

#### Women

Male doctors could not see women so that the two of us performed that function for some 6 weeks, at a rate of about 50 consultations a day.

The requirement to have a mixed medical team is very evident. Otherwise, Afghan women could not receive medical care.

The attitude of women toward us was quite stereotyped. Women would arrive in a line, hiding behind their veils, and sit down in front of us. Then, speaking glibly, they would describe their varied and numerous complaints, concerning which our response -- and especially our treatment -- had to be

very quick. If we looked somewhat skeptical, they would persistently find another symptom. One-third of all pathology was made up of vague, general symptoms, probably a psychosomatic expression of their anguish and desire to be heard.

At such times and on occasions when we were introduced into the women's quarters, we felt the language barrier most profoundly. The handicap loomed all the larger because the women's behavior is radically different when the men are no longer there. Then they are relaxed, spontaneous, smiling and lively, sometimes even mischievous. Unfortunately, our relations were limited to gestures and to the few bits of the Pashto language we had learned.

And yet, the determined attitude of the women suggests the power and importance they can have, particularly regarding the running of the house (the housework, breadbaking, preparation of tea, caring for the children). Their personal concerns would certainly have been thrilling to learn if closer communication could have been established between us.

#### Record

Does the presence of French doctors remain desirable in Afghanistan with the current intensification of the war? Do we represent aid more than danger? These are questions we have the right to ask ourselves.

Naturally, our participation is but sporadic and ephemeral. And we are sometimes perplexed, even somewhat cynical, about the real quality of the medicine we are forced to practice sometimes, in a social and cultural context quite different from our own.

But our presence remains. I sometimes doubted its justification when there, but in reflecting upon it from a distance, I believe it is beneficial locally and essential with respect to what we can then tell the Western world.

#### French Medical Teams

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 p 30

[Article by Juliette Fournot, Doctors Without Borders]

[Text] During the winter of 1985-1986, the Doctors Without Borders (MSF) organization suspended its missions to Afghanistan because it had not received any authorization from the Djamiat-e Islami Party to send women doctors or nurses to Afghanistan. In this article, Juliette Fournot, one of the directors of the Afghan program of the medical association, analyzes the causes and consequences of the situation. In 1986, MSF resumed its action in Afghanistan.

November 1985: Our caravans were ready to leave and the Resistance asked us not to send the female elements of our teams until the spring. After our initial angry reaction, we became aware, through this fact that affected us directly, of a very serious problem facing the Resistance: The favorite weapon of the Soviets, propaganda and disinformation, is attacking the

Resistance by using Islam against it. Actually, after 6 years of military presence (200,000 soldiers), the Soviets have observed the mechanisms of operation of the Afghan Resistance and its support by the population.

As in Poland, the people and the Resistance draw upon their religion, Islam, for the strength to survive poverty, atrocities and fight this invader that has set about curbing their greatest source of wealth: freedom, by imposing foreign laws.

After 5 years of failure, the Soviets are getting around the obstacle and using Islam against the Resistance. They are trying to label Resistance members as bad Muslims. How? Very easy. It suffices to announce everywhere, on the radio, television and in the press: "Look, the so-called doctors are prostitutes of the mojahidin. Those women who use their work as an excuse have come to seduce the Afghans." It would make one laugh, except that in the wintertime, there were no vaccinations for measles and thousands of children died. The women had no medical care because they can see only female doctors and, except for those from the West, there are none.

It was a political ploy. The Resistance needs to keep the trust of the people and asked us not to intervene medically for a few months in order to fight this new weapon: disinformation.

For the Soviets, they could kill four birds with one stone: no care for the people hostile to their occupation; no more MSF to denounce the war crimes, the horror, starvation, the massacres, attacks on refugee columns, booby-trapped toys; catching the Afghans in their own trap and, in the eyes of the Western world, making them look like backward Muslim fanatics, hostile to the very people trying to help them; and, in Afghanistan, making people believe that the mojahidin are libertines.

As is the case every time the Soviets introduce a new weapon, a new tactic, the Resistance needed time to analyze it, find the parry and finally, counterattack.

And yet, the Resistance insisted we resume our missions in the summer of 1986 and that we not abandon the people of Afghanistan, even if, for the time being, we would have to agree to wait.

#### Conversation With Mojaddedi

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French No 29-30 Oct 86 p 31

[Interview with Prof Sebghatullah Modjaddedi in Paris; date not given]

[Text] While in Paris, Prof Sebghatullah Modjaddedi, head of one of the Afghan Resistance parties, the Djabha-ye Nedjat-e Melli, told us:

"We are willing to take in all French medical teams. Those medical teams are greatly appreciated inside Afghanistan and respond to a real need of the people. The presence of European women on those medical teams is absolutely indispensable and we hope it will continue."

[Question] What is your opinion of the direct aid which the French humanitarian organizations distribute inside Afghanistan to the people affected by the war?

[Answer] We are very grateful to the French people who come to Afghanistan. I have observed that the French were the first and almost the only ones to help our civilian population. I wonder why. They are the ones who have the greatest sympathy for us.

The Afghans have a desperate need for everything and all of your aid is welcome. The direct financial or food aid and the medical assistance to the villagers are especially appreciated by the Afghan people. I have never heard anyone criticize the aid given by the French. Everything you have done up to the present time, with the limited financial means at your disposal, is useful. The people's needs are enormous. The more you can give to the interior of Afghanistan, the better.

[Question] You are one of the most widely known theologians in Afghanistan. Do you believe that the presence of women on the emergency medical teams caring for the people of Afghanistan poses problems with respect to local traditions and Islam itself?

[Answer] There is absolutely no religious objection that could stand in the way of the presence of women, whether doctors or nurses, on your medical teams. It is a question of taking care of all those who need care. Perhaps in some regions, in order to take into consideration possible prejudice on the part of officials and avoid playing into the hands of Soviet propaganda, it would simply be better to send married couples.

If there were recently problems with one Resistance group, it must have been because of organizational problems. The safety of European women can sometimes be more difficult to assure than that of the men. In regions where everything is known very rapidly, their presence is noticed more.

As for us, we are willing to welcome medical teams, even if they are mixed.

Naturally, you are free to help whomever you wish, but it is good to think about distributing your aid among different regions.

Our sincere friends must be able to cooperate with all our organizations. Likewise, along another line of ideas, I believe that the Resistance parties must help all soldiers, whatever their affiliation. I have often personally supplied means to commanding officers who did not belong to my party, but who cooperated with us in the field.

In another interview published in DEFIS AFGHANS, No 5, Modjaddedi added that if Arab countries criticize the work of the French organizations, then "they should take their place and send female doctors to Afghanistan to care for the civilian population. They have never done so, as far as I know, not even with male doctors! Let them do it now! As far as I am concerned, I shall continue to ask the French for medical aid, with no restriction or conditions. Our people need it!"

IRAN

EXPLOSIONS, SHOOTINGS REPORTED IN TWO TEHRAN GARRISONS

London KEYHAN in Persian 8 Jan 87 pp 3, 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] In Tehran, word has it that a bomb exploded in the Guards Corps center in 'Eshratabad. The bomb was planted by a group of soldiers serving their military duty in the Guards Corps.

The world news agencies, quoting the group opposing the Islamic Republic, stated that in this large explosion, which took place in the Valiy-ye 'Asr Guards Corps base, nearly 500 commanders and members of the Guards Corps were killed.

Inhabitants of the houses next to this base told the ASSOCIATED PRESS that along with the great fire that occurred, they heard a large explosion which shook the neighborhood.

IRNA announced in a brief report that in one garrison, an explosion took place while ammunition was being moved, but the name of the garrison was not mentioned. According to this report, a great fire occurred as a result of the explosion, burning for hours, destroying the central Guards Corps building, and damaging surrounding buildings as well. The organization of the people's Mojahedin announced in a communique in Paris that this barracks was an ammunition storage as well as a place for testing explosives and that many of the high-ranking commanders of the Guards Corps were killed as a result of the explosion.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS, in quoting informed sources in Tehran, reported that recently some underground newspapers have published articles regarding the dissolution of the army, following which hundreds of people were arrested. This report adds that in the past two years, some of the clerics in charge in the Islamic Republic have been exerting pressure to dissolve the army altogether and to transfer all of its duties to the Guards Corps. In this underground newspaper, the soldiers are asked to rise up against the conspiracy to dissolve the army.

We should point out that last month, the Islamic Republic arrested Col Mohammad Mehdi Katibeh, chief of the intelligence column of the military, and charged him with revealing military secrets and government documents.

On Saturday, 6 Dey [27 December], a huge explosion occurred in the Saltanatabad area. This explosion was so strong that it broke the windows of houses and stores up to the Ekhtariyyeh area. The Islamic Republic did not broadcast the news of this explosion for three days, choosing to remain silent.

Eyewitnesses from Tehran reported that the explosion occurred while explosives were being unloaded from a truck and carried into the arms manufacturing factory of the military industries in Saltanatabad and that it was set. The organization of the people's Mojahedin in Paris announced that about 400 persons were killed or wounded in this explosion.

Reports from Tehran also indicate that in the 'Eshratabad garrison, which is now being used by the Guards Corps, severe fighting took place during which dozens of people were killed or wounded. The fighting in the 'Eshratabad garrison lasted for one hour, and hours after the bullets ceased, ambulances continued coming to the garrison and leaving speedily with their sirens on.

The differences between the leaders of the Islamic government, as was expected, fully reached the Guards Corps and other institutions of the Islamic revolution. The fighting between the rival factions in the Guards Corps in 'Eshratabad reflects the deeply-rooted ideological differences among the government officials. It is said that in the future months, the faction that takes orders from Mohsen Rafiqdust will gain power in the Guards Corps and the Mohsen Reza'i faction will gradually be pushed aside from positions of power.

10,000

CSO: 4640/65

IRAN

EX-ARMY NCO ASSASSINATED IN ATHENS

London KEYHAN in Persian 8 Jan 87 p 3

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Ahmad Moshkabadi, a 25-year-old Iranian, was shot with 4 bullets and killed in one of the streets of Athens, the capital of Greece.

Ahmad Moshkabadi was a former warrant officer in the Iranian army and a member of the Shahin group.

This group, which is active inside Iran, is comprised of military forces. Nevertheless, the Greek police denied that this assassination was political and said: The victim was probably the target of a personal grudge.

10,000

CSO: 4640/65

# AHMEDI CHIEF ON COMMUNITY'S PERSECUTION, CONCERNS

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 8 Jan 87 p 12

[Article by Jamal Rashid]

[Text]

LONDON: Mirza Tahir Ahmed, leader of the ten million strong Ahmediya community, which faces persecution in many Muslim countries, at first sight appears to be hardly cut out as a religious leader. He has neither the abstractness of a Pope nor the aggression of a fundamentalist. His face constantly breaks into smiles and his hands slice the air as he talks, reflecting the mannerisms of a scholar rather than a religious militant.

In Pakistan, where Mirza Tahir lived until two years ago, the Ahmedis have been prohibited from calling themselves Muslim and if they use Muslim religious practices they are liable to punishment. A number of Ahmedis have been killed in Sind province in the past year and many have been thrown out of Government jobs or have fled the country. All Ahmedis have to declare on the passports that they are not Muslims. Recently, the ruling Muslim League party of Prime Minister Junejo banned Ahmedis from membership. The annual meeting of the Ahmedis, usually held in Rabwah in late December, has been banned.

## Controlled by USA

Mirza Tahir lived in the Ahmedi's religious centre in Rabwah before he left Pakistan. Now he directs the community's worldwide followers from Putney, a London suburb. His

exile has made him severely critical of the Zia regime and its support from the U.S. "Zia is totally controlled by the Americans, but they don't seem to care that it's a fascist regime," he told this correspondent in a wide-ranging interview in London. "In the name of Allah, Zia has preached intolerance, has committed atrocities against his own people and has sold Pakistan to the Americans."

However, he insisted that the Ahmedis in Pakistan would fight for their human rights on a religious basis and not join political parties. So far Tahir's grip on the community, especially the youth, has prevented retaliation or acts of terrorism by the Ahmedis who re-

main essentially a peaceful community. This has not prevented fundamentalist mullahs in Pakistan from threatening to have him killed. "In London I have received many threats, people follow me constantly, and mullahs have said that anybody who kills me will go straight to heaven, but I survive like the rest of my community."

In London last summer the Ahmedis held a convention. Over 7,000 delegates from 56 countries attended and they agreed to step up their efforts in international bodies like the United Nations to fight the persecution of the sect. Amnesty International has launched a worldwide campaign to force the Government to free those Ahmedis facing death sentences in Pakistani jails. The Ahmedi convention blamed

Saudi Arabia, which allows no Ahmedis on its soil, for orchestrating the persecution and "persuading dictators like Zia to follow suit."

From London Mirza Tahir has been busy building community centres all over Europe. All Ahmedis are expected to pay one-sixteenth of their income to the Anjuman-e-Ahmedi, a social welfare fund. Those more committed pay one-tenth of their income, and leave one-tenth of their property to the fund when they die. "The accounts are open for inspection and nobody can claim that we receive money from foreign intelligence agencies as the Pakistan Government claims," said Mirza Tahir.

#### New centre

A new European centre is being built on 25 acres of land acquired in Tilford, Surrey. The Pakistan Government is not amused by the fact that the centre is called Islamabad, but Mirza Tahir claims that this centre has existed for two decades under the name Islamabad. Three centres have opened in Germany, where the second biggest Ahmedi community in Europe lives and one each has been opened in Spain, France, Belgium and Holland. There are some 10 centres in America already. Mirza Tahir insists that all these centres have only been built through generous donations by the community. It is the Ahmedis' aggressive policy of converting people to their beliefs that has annoyed many Pakistani religious elements. In America the majority of Blacks and other communities being converted to Islam are becoming Ahmedis, it is claimed.

Mirza Tahir explained that contrary to the propaganda put out by opponents, the Ahmedis do believe that the Prophet Muhammad revealed the last and final complete religion, but there was a need for a "guided man" from God to re-establish the pristine character of Islam after the sectarianism that had

befallen it. That man, the Ahmedis believe, was Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, who was born in the Punjab and died in 1908. Mirza Tahir is his direct descendent. The puritanical nature of the Ahmedis' belief can be seen in their attitude to women. Although many Ahmedi women are highly educated and some work, they are all in strict purdah and entirely segregated. Marriages with non-Ahmedis are discouraged. Mirza Tahir stressed the importance of the woman's role in the family and his feeling that they are constitutionally weaker than men. He does not agree with female participation in politics alongside men and his entire attitude to women is certainly the most retrogressive aspect of the Ahmedis' belief system.

#### Fresh round

Mirza Tahir left Pakistan with his wife three days after President Zia promulgated the Ordinance, in April 1984, that imposed new restrictions on the Ahmedis. His daughter and other relatives are still in Pakistan. In October he sent urgent telegrams to Zia and other Heads of State as well as the United Nations accusing the Government of a fresh round of persecution organised by fundamentalists in and around Rabwah, where thousands of Ahmedis still live. The Pakistani Press has refused to publish his appeals.

"Islam", he says, "is a most rational religion. Conviction is bred through rationality, not through fanaticism. Our persecution is irrational but eventually a persecuted community always wins human sympathy throughout the world." The scholar's hands tie up the cape he wears and in a moment he is enveloped by a couple of bodyguards and is gone.

COMMENTARY TERMS ULEMA'S CONCERNS 'IRRELEVANT'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 8 Jan 87 p 8

[Text]

**FUNDAMENTALISTS** of all denominations, in all ages, have devoted much time and debating skill to matters that to ordinary humans seem to be wholly irrelevant or of little significance.

The classic example from the darker ages is the controversy about the number of angels that could be accommodated on the thin point of a needle. This dispute could well have split the Church of Rome long before this was accomplished by King Henry VIII's infatuation with Anne Boleyn. Since the Pope did not succumb to Royal pressures, Henry established a separate Church of England and designated himself Defender of the Faith and divorced his first wife.

**Today's controversies**

Modern religious or quasi-religious controversies in our part of the world often occur over more trivial matters. Local theologians have, for example, despite their preoccupation with political issues, recently been found engaged in two seriously-conducted debates. The first question raised was that if an actor husband and an actress wife play the roles of husband and wife on the screen (or stage) and the husband pronounces talaq (divorce) for the wife three times, is the deed done? Is the real wife divorced in real life in accordance with the Shariat? Some ulema (religion scholars) say yes:

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CSO: 4600/112

others say no. Complicated arguments feed the continuing debate; perhaps, a seminar will be called to examine the issue in depth.

Then, some among the same category of gentlemen are troubled over the question of whether or not a straw cap can be used by a Muslim while saying his prayers. Some say that only caps made with the leaves of the date-palm may be used or that an ordinary straw cap may be used in an emergency when no other head cover is readily available. Discussions on these issues take up much of the ulemas' time, newspaper space, and the people's attention, while Karachi continues to simmer, our western border remains under pressure, and unresolved problems add to daily tensions. Such controversies may amuse or bemuse but far more they reflect on Pakistan's sorry state which must be put right if we are to emerge from the quicksands.

May the Lord doubly bless the Quaid for decreeing that Pakistan will not be a theocratic State at the mercy of obscurantists.

## FORMER DIPLOMAT OFFERS VIEWS ON DOMESTIC, EXTERNAL CRISES

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 8 Jan 87 pp 10-11

[Text]

The following is the unedited text of former career diplomat Sajjad Hyder's exposition of Pakistan's problem No 1 at Aiwan-i-Sadr'.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC progress, the eradication of corruption, social justice, lowering population growth, salinity and soil erosion, the development of tolerance, the inculcation of civic virtue and priority for education — these are all indubitably the problems we face today. However, there can be no doubt, I believe, that the biggest problem we face today is the necessity to achieve national unity and negation of the security threat from the Indo-Soviet-Afghan axis.

Without national unity we cannot effectively tackle the external security threat. In turn, the security threat is compounding our internal problems. It would be futile to give priority to the one over the other as they are now indivisibly interlinked, and, hence I would like concisely to explain the best mode of treating these internal and external problems.

#### Full autonomy

Internally, we have to recognise that it is the people who will keep this country together, and not the other way around. The central

thrust that we must evolve is to give the maximum autonomy and power to the provinces. If we are to contain the growth of a Six-point mentality within the smaller provinces, this is the only solution. Let us give this a try and if, God forbid, it does not work out and the people of any province insist on secession, the chances of this happening are far less than if we continue the way we are now.

At the same time, we need to develop a system of effective decentralization at both the political and administrative levels. We cannot afford Governors from outside the provinces. As in India, civil servants must opt for provincial cadres and stay within them throughout their careers, apart from deputation to the Centre. Local self-government must replace bureaucratic control. As is the case in the United States, constitutional amendments must be ratified by all the provinces.

It must be made a principle that, except in the event of war, soldiers from one province should never be deployed in another province. The armed forces must change their recruitment requirements so that 50% of the forces are taken from outside the Punjab. Whatever the short-term impact this may have on efficiency it will ensure that the provincial fear of a Punjabi domi-

nated army will disappear. At the same time, this will have a favourable effect on the unemployment and economic position of the smaller provinces. I submit this proposal as a Punjabi who has proudly served the army.

Maximum provincial autonomy and concomitant decentralisation arising out of a national political dialogue will allow us to forge national unity, give popular acceptance and legitimacy to the government in power, and allow it to base its foreign policy on the essential bedrock of a national consensus.

Externally, in the field of national security, equally difficult decisions await us. The fundamental historic threat from India is now augmented, for the first time, by a potential two-front threat now posed by the Soviet and Afghan forces on our western border. The choice for us is very simple. We must decide whether or not we truly believe that the American factor can keep the Indo-Soviet-Afghan threat at bay, and whether or not link with America can solve our internal problems. If we decide that this is so, then we just continue with our present policy.

#### U.S. not dependable

I do not believe that this is the case. 1971 has shown us that the U.S.-China card played by us was trumped by India's Soviet card, given of course our mishandling of the internal situation. The U.S. remains the power most able to help us militarily and economically. However, because of its internal political circumstances and because of its desire to maintain a position with India, its reliability cannot be depended upon in a time of crisis. China, with Pakistan astride its border areas of tension with India, has the greatest motivation to help us but lacks the capability. The Soviet Union still has the greatest ability to harm us.

We miscalculated in 1979 when I advised, after the Saur revolution, that we should have no doubt that any attempt to destabilize the new Marxist regime in Kabul would lead to a Soviet invasion. Then, as now, we would be better off with a

weak Marxist regime in Kabul than with Soviet occupation troops at our border. It was unrealistic of us to base our Afghan policy on the objective of having a regime in Kabul friendly to us and neutral to the Soviet Union. Now we have belatedly realized that a regime neutral to us and friendly to the USSR is the best we can hope for. At the same time, it must be admitted that we were able to use the Afghan issue to get U.S. military and economic assistance to strengthen our economic and security capability. However, the question we have to answer is whether or not the cost has been too high.

#### Via USSR

Since the Rome Conference, again as a lonely voice, I have argued that peace with India on Indian terms would be at a price unacceptable to us. The only alternative is peace with India through friendship, or at least an understanding, with the USSR. Hence, in 1979 I also suggested that the Afghan issue now offered to us the best chance of attaining, at the same time, the two fundamental objectives of our foreign policy: the containment of Indian hostility and the recognition by Afghanistan of the Durand Line. For one we had something to offer the USSR in return. For those in Pakistan who believe that Soviet hostility is implacable, we should not forget the 1965 to 1969 Tashkent period, when the Soviet Union used its influence to defuse Indo-Pakistan tension and entered into a period of bilateral economic and military supplies

collaboration with us.

Although it is late in the day I believe we still have a chance to achieve these objectives. We need to take a political decision to solve the Afghan issue irrespective of the U.S. advice. The opening from the USSR is there for us to take. Stretching from Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech, the token troops withdrawals, the removal of Babrak Karmal, the flexibility and lack of hostility displayed by the Soviet leader's visit to Delhi, the updating of the Asian Collective Security Pact, and the visit by invitation of our Foreign Secretary to Moscow recently.

### Time-frame not relevant

A settlement of the Afghan issue does not hinge on the time-frame for withdrawals, be that four months or four years, the reported parameters of today. It hinges on the goodwill of both sides and the credibility of that goodwill. If in February of this year (1986) we had stood firm on a time-frame of four months, well ten months have passed since then. Time is not on our side. Even if the Soviet Union accepted a short time-frame and then did not stick to it, what could we do then? As a test of Soviet goodwill we should insist on a joint Afghan-Soviet affirmation of the Durand Line in return for our acceptance of a compromise time-frame for withdrawals.

As long as we are annoying the USSR over Afghanistan we cannot expect at the same time to negate the hostility of its ally, India. A willingness on our part to solve the Afghan crisis represents a better modality to diffuse tension with India, which is also worried about physical Soviet penetration of this region despite its alliance with the USSR.

What then about the USA? That will be the main problem we will have to face if we embark on such a change of course. Do we still truly have the freedom to manoeuvre? I believe we do, for a number of reasons. To begin with, our national security can only be assured if we consistently put our own national interest first. Secondly, I do not rule out the U.S. factor in any way. Its economic potential to help us, its position as a super-Power can never be discounted. We do need the USA. But this does not mean alienating the USSR. I also do not believe that we must follow some rigid economic system that cuts us off from the

developed world. The countries which have tried this trend are either stagnating economically, or like China, are changing their practice.

### Time is now

Thirdly, I believe that the timing for such a move is most propitious and opportune now. "Irangate" will keep the U.S. Administration tied up for the next year. 1988 will be the election year with a lame duck President and Congress. By then we should be able to make up to the new Administration which will probably be from the Democratic Party with a less confrontationist attitude towards the USSR and closer to India than to Pakistan. Eventually, the USA will realize that a strong, united Pakistan is preferable to a weak client State which might unnecessarily embroil it in its internal and external problems.

Fourthly, the main pressure group which would be affected in Pakistan by such a move is the armed forces. However, if maximum provincial autonomy is granted and an internal constitutional and political settlement reached, the armed forces will not face any internal demands taxing their existing capabilities. If we solve the Afghanistan crisis and thereby blunt both Soviet and Indian hostility, then our armed forces would not need constant updating of their weapons and manpower levels to face the external threat.

Fifthly, this process will buy us the time needed to develop a credible nuclear option which in the long term is the only equalizer we can have to restrain India.

It is correctly held that when the leaders lack vision the people perish. In our context, we cannot doubt the good faith of our leaders in everything they have done until now, but as the test of that good faith we have a right to demand that they review the results of their past policies in the internal and external spheres, and if results have been found wanting, they should then take steps to rectify the situation in the supreme national interest.

## COMMENTARY ANALYZES 'THOUGHTS OF ZIA'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 8 Jan 87 p 13

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

IT IS TIME the Ministry of Information or the Department of Archives, if there is any in the Islamic Republic, seriously considered embalming the thoughts of General Ziaul Haq, preferably in a gilt-bound edition of his collected works. After they have been suitably arranged and collected for posterity, we might perhaps look forward to a break in his political speeches which, after ten years (how time flies), are neither novel nor interesting nor, after so many repetitions, even piquant any more.

His remarks at the Shaikhul Islam Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani Conference, held in Lahore under the auspices of the Idara-i-Tabligh-i-Islam (how many such organisations have the faithful had to suffer during the last decade!) are no exception. Mounting his favourite charger, he launched a not-so-subtle attack on his own legislators by urging them "to determine what an Islamic system is and to make progress in this regard." How can he expect the hapless assemblymen to do what he was unable to do in the plenitude of his powers? In another back-handed remark, he urged the people to impress upon their chosen representatives the need for an Islamic system of government and, in this connection, pointedly remarked that the Ninth Amendment had yet to be passed. The silent majority in favour

of an Islamic system should no longer remain silent and instead should become a "vocal majority". A bit curious that the soldier-President at this late hour should be turning to the "people".

## A talisman

For all the years he has been in power (the question now is whether he will break Ayub Khan's record of nearly eleven years in office), General Zia has used Islam not only as a political instrument but also as an all-purpose talisman for every difficulty. Not that it has been entirely useless. The consummate politician that he is, the President has extracted the maximum mileage from it. But there is a time for everything and it now seems that the time for these old tactics has passed. The offensive that the President has been mounting since the beginning of the year, not so much against his civilian handiwork as against anything that smacks of organised politics, has had Islam for its *leit motif*. The Shariat Bill has been the preferred launching pad for this offensive. Not for nothing has the frenzy surrounding it been connected with the fair name of the President.

In his Shaikh-ul-Islam conference address, the President also singled out the "educated" and the "Westernised" (maghribzada) people as the subject of his ire. Their minds, he said, had been invaded by the worm of the West and they said that religion should not have anything to do with the affairs of the State and also

declared the system of Islam to be 1400 years old. Only God, said the President, could make them see the light.

### Safety in diversion

For years on end the President could do as he pleased; pass an Ordinance or a decree at the drop of a hat. It is only fair to ask him why he did not promulgate an appropriate Martial Law regulation to bring in Islam at once? His present attitude is clearly an attempt on his part to stake out his own high ground which he could use in time of need. It also seems an attempt to put pressure on all political elements, including the Prime Minister. So long as the President is able to keep the political debate confined within the parameters of Islam, he can give what twist to it that he please. Once the debate moves on to subjects like polity and the naked incompetence of the order spawned by him do difficulties begin to arise for him.

One glaring anomaly in his diatribe against the souls invaded by the canker of the West should not pass unnoticed. And that refers to his own personality and his own beliefs. The President has always taken pride in his humble origins. He is fond of being referred to as a bluff soldier, the implication being that he is simple, straightforward and honest, an implication, by the way, which sinister enemies have always disputed. In the documents recovered by the militant Iranian students from the U.S. embassy in Tehran there was a cable from the Islamabad Embassy genially trying to explore the speculative line whether General Zia's father was a religious teacher. Although the line of investigation proved inconclusive, it sheds light on the President's origins in his hometown in East Punjab. Yet for all this earthiness, the President tops the list of those rulers of this country who have been unabashedly pro-Western.

### No to justice

He has never disguised his loathing not only for communism, but for any egalitarian dispensation in which there is even a remote reference to social justice. To bolster his own position he has made Pakistan one of the central actors in the Afghan drama. True, considerations of real-politik have been decisive in this stance. But it also squares quite perfectly with the President's own political views, otherwise he would never have uttered such simplicities as that the struggle of the Afghans is as much for their own independence as for the defence of Pakistan. Such statements only a zealot could bring himself to make. President Ziaul Haq has presided over the most dramatic shift in our foreign relations since the 1965 war. We are now a frontline State engaged in defending the ramparts of the 'free world'. The situation has reached a pass where the Russians are holding an olive branch out to us, but such being the degree of our Western tutelage, we are incapable of responding to this gesture. It is also well to remember that General Zia was the principal defender of Egypt at the Casablanca conference, going to such lengths in his performance that even staunch pro-Western Arab States were put to shame. He is also the first Pakistani ruler who has come close to speaking of Israel as an established reality. It does not behove him, of all people, to berate people for their pro-Western attitudes.

A small vignette in the same speech: The Shoorai system, the President declared, was entirely, Islamic. "When I mention it, people start doubting my intentions and suspect me of trying to prolong my rule". Suspicious people indeed who read the worst into the best of motives.

# LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 8 Jan 87 pp 32-33

[Text]

The following is the concluding part of the list of political prisoners in the country, released by the Political Prisoners' Release and Relief Committee:

## FRONTIER PROVINCE

### Dera Ismail Khan

1. Syed Mohabbat Ali Shah 2. Wali Mohammad Sehto 3. Mohammad Ali Chanar 4. Iqbal Hussain Parachanar 5. Karim Khan of Tonk.

### Distt. Jail, Bannu

1. Zahid Dilsot 2. Master Mir Ali Shah 3. Ataulah Jan Khan.

### Central Jail, Peshawar

1. Shams Gohri 2. Malik Noor Rehman.

### Central Jail, Haripur

1. Kamran Haider Kayani 2. Haji Irshad 3. Zahid Shah 4. Mohammad Tahir 5. Mohabbat 6. Dost Mohammad 7. Shaik Jan 8. Gul Jan. 9. Mohabbat Mohammad 10. Shah Rehman 11. Amir Mohammad Waiz 12. Aslam Lodhianvi 13. Rahim Yar Khan 14. Inaam Bangash 15. Laal Mohammad 16. Master Zagal

17. Mohammad Ashraf 18. Jehangir Khan 19. Shehab Saqib 20. Arif Kamal 21. Zafar 22. Ejazul Haq 23. Ikram Khan 24. Saeed Mohammad 26. Gul Hassan 27. Ghulam Ali 28. Zahid Hussain S/o Syed Nisar Hussain Parachanar.

## BALUCHISTAN

### District Jail, Dera Murad Jamali

1. Niaz Ali Umrani.

### District Jail, Turbat

1. Murad Ali Baluch, 2. Ejaz Baluch, 3. Razzaq Baluch.

### District Jail, Quetta

1. Sadiq Umrani 2. Haq Nawaz 3. Essa Khan Achakzai, 4. Mohammad Khan Marri 5. Mir Khan 6. Mehrab Khan 7. Lal Mari, 8. Lawarig Khan 9. Kamal Khan 10. Dad Muhammad 11. Sahib Khan 12. Mere Khan 13. Ibrahim Khan 14. Kala Khan 15. Jan Ali Khan 16. Hazara Khan 17. Qutub Khan 18. Nauroze Khan 19. Nawab Khan 20. Jan Alam 21. Vando Khan 22. Luqman Khan 23. Jalal 24. Shafiq Muhammad 25. Mohrab.

## Central Jail, Machh

1. Lal Jan Baluch.

### PUNJAB JAILS

1. Mansoor Ahmad 2. Nazir Baluch 3. Hamid Asghar Minhas 4. Mehar Atta Muhammad 5. Naeem Akhtar 6. Taj Din 7. Maj. Nisar Bukhari 8. Ali Haider Shah 9. Islam-ud-Din 10. Hamid Saeed Pia 11. Muhammad Azam Bhatti 12. Kamran Rizvi 13. Baba M. Sharif 14. Munir Ahmad 15. Talat Jafri 16. Muhammad Ashfaq 17. Saleem Abbas 18. Aurangzeb Zafar 19. Nasim Iqbal 20. Javed Iqbal Muazzam 21. Sh. Abdul Qayyum 22. Muhammad Boota Khokhar 23. M. Amjad 24. Maj.-Gen. (Retd) Tajammal Hussain 25. Rana Laeeq 26. Rana Fasahat Ali 27. Muhammad Younas 28. M. Zubair Ahmad Shad 29. Maj. Aftab 30. Iqbal Pervez Masih 31. M. Rafi Malik 32. Altaf Ahmad Kairi 33. Maj. M. Sadiq 34. Mian M. Jehangir, Advocate 35. Muhammad Anwar Bhatti 36. Muhammad Tahir 37. M. Sabir Hussain 38. Zahid Mahmood Butt 39. Arshad Mahmood 40. Malik Atiq-ur-Rehman 41. M. Rafiq Babar 42. Halim Ejaz Bhatti 43. Yousaf Khatak 44. Muhammad Hussain 45. Sufi M. Amin 46. Sq. Leader Shahzad 47. Muhammad Waseem 48. Gul Mahmood Sherazi 49. Rana M. Mansha 50. Tariq Khurshid 51. Zawar Hussain Malik 52. Masood Iqbal 53. Riaz Shahid 54. Riaz Sajid 55. Javed Akhtar 56. Asif Butt 57. Mehar Ghulam Rasool 58. Razzaq Bajwa 59. Abid Hussain 60. Khan Muhammad 61. Muhammad Asghar 62. Azam Butt 63. Hafiz Nusrat 64. Sh. Gul Muhammad 65. Muhammad Saeed 66. Mufti M. Shafi 67. Muhammad Sadiq 68. Muhammad Shafi 69. Hamid Manzoor Sh. 70. Munawar Ahsan Asim 71. Ghulam Mustafa 72. Mohammad Naeem 73. Raza Allah 74. Taj Din.

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